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Across the Savannas to Mecca

The Overland Pilgrimage
Route from West Africa

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Preface

The movement of Muslim pilgrims along the savannas* from West Africa to Mecca and back is more than a migration of people; it constitutes a complete society on the move, with its particular institutions and infrastructure shaped in order to facilitate travel and the *hajj* (the making of pilgrimage). Within this pious body of people both work and prayer alike are directed towards Mecca.

To travel with the pilgrims is to experience a paradoxical world with the ascetic, aesthetic and religious intermingled with the secular, pragmatic and immoral. Some of the most pious behaviour and exacting religious practice exist alongside appalling squalor, degradation and immorality: such are the compromises of the pilgrim road.

The present day overland movement to Mecca along the savanna routeway is, in some respects, an anachronism and a relict phenomenon — numbers making the *hajj* in this way now are less than they were earlier in the century. Yet evidence suggests that overland pilgrimage is becoming increasingly popular, perhaps even a fashion. In any case, apart from its integral interest as a fascinating element of religious life and a little-evaluated aspect of population studies, it is of immense impact, in both relative and absolute terms, on the socio-economic life of the indigenous local communities along the route.

Here, this movement of pilgrims is considered both as an example of a movement of people of religious motivation, and as an aspect of population mobility.

If the object of the study — an analytical description of the Mecca pilgrimage from West Africa — was to be achieved, it was essential to make contact with the pilgrims whilst they were actually in transit. Darfur Province, in the west of the Republic of the Sudan (see Map 3), was the most suitable section of the savannas in which to sample the pilgrim flow for several reasons: to the west of Darfur, the pilgrims were on familiar ground, with Hausa remaining an important *lingua franca* as far east as Abeche (Map 2). Furthermore, the large West African communities in Fort Lamy† and the west make it difficult to distinguish pilgrims; lands to the west of Abeche are best considered a source area. In the eastern Sudan, sampling is difficult because pilgrims dally for considerable periods in the large communities of West Africans living on the Nile, and are difficult to distinguish from West African settlers. In Darfur, the distinction between settlers and pilgrims can easily be made because of the small, well-defined

*'Savannas' is the term used to denote the belt of grassland stretching across Africa on the southern fringe of the Sahara Desert. These grasslands are the zone of transition between the deserts of the north and the wetter, more forested lands to the south.

†Fort Lamy has been renamed Ndjamena. The pilgrims, however, continue to use the old name, so it has been retained here (see also Works, 1976, xiv).

nature of the West African communities in the Province, through which all the pilgrims pass.

There were other advantages in taking Darfur Province as the study area. The proximity of the border meant that the pilgrimage could be studied in its international character, comparing and contrasting facilities and behaviour in Chad and the Sudan, and examining the actual transfer of pilgrims across the border.

Furthermore, Darfur Province remains one of the least-known areas of Africa. Its remoteness, being about 1,000 miles from a seaport, and 800 miles from an international airport, marginal location and lack of economic importance in the Sudan have militated against frequent visits of research workers. As one of the objects of the study was to assess the impact of the movement of pilgrims upon indigenous groups, the field period also gave an opportunity to become acquainted with this remaining corner of the Dark Continent.

In order to avoid the problems associated with the complex and confusing nomenclature that has developed around immigrants from the west living in the Sudan (see al Nagar, 1969, and Birks, 1975, for example), in this book all those from west of the River Chari will be called, simply, 'West Africans'. Those from Chad, whom it is necessary to distinguish in this study, are referred to by their nationality.

Sampling of pilgrims was carried out on a 'casually random' basis. Their total population could only be gained from field enquiry; there were no current border records available. Indeed, entirely coincidentally, the Chad-Sudan border was closed to pilgrims at the beginning of the field period, so that no pilgrims crossed the border legally for the duration of fieldwork. In all just over 500 pilgrim households were interviewed, these out of a total of about 8,500 pilgrims believed to be moving across the province each year — approximately, a 30 per cent sample.

Collection of information was carried out by travelling with pilgrims along the savanna routeways, especially the Darfur sections. Transport was by lorry, camel, donkey and on foot. Interviewing, on both a group and an individual basis, was carried out mainly in Arabic, but also in Hausa. The latter language was used to question eastward moving pilgrims most of whom, not having lived in the Sudan, could not yet speak Arabic. In order to interview this illegal immigrant population, comprising in many respects an unhappy minority group, it was essential to develop a close rapport, which meant that the use of an interpreter was not feasible. However, once contact was made with West Africans, it became possible to be seen to identify with them, and to become known as a champion of their cause, with the result that many of them quickly learnt to accept the research. Whilst particular interest in the West Africans was not stressed when mingling with local people, it could not always be hidden. This led to a certain amount of derogatory comment from the more sophisticated Sudanese, because of the low social status they accord to the migrant West African. It was vital not to alienate the indigenous Sudanese for, apart from their goodwill being essential to the study, they were valuable in giving an outside view of pilgrimage. It was therefore necessary to walk

something of a tightrope between the two communities, striking a balance, in terms of allocation of time, between the various groups in Darfur. It is felt this was the best course for the study to have taken, for although the amount of data collected on the actual pilgrimage was perhaps reduced, it has led to a more composite regional view of Darfur, and a broader perspective of the pilgrimage.

The book is a shortened version of my doctoral thesis, submitted to the University of Liverpool in 1975.

Dr. R. Maniell Prothero, to whom I am deeply indebted, supervised my research throughout. Whilst remaining a much valued mentor, he has become a firm friend.

Thanks are also due to Professor R.W. Steel; Dr. H.I. Hassan; H.R.J. Davies; Dr. L.R. Mills; Professors E. Sopher, H. Bowen-Jones, J.I. Clarke, I. Cunlison and R. O'Fahey; Tony and Pat Harris; George Brown; Brenda Billingham and Pat Brothers, all of whom gave aid and encouragement; to my wife for her help and patience; and to Miss L. Findlay and Mrs. H. Perren for typing. Only I, of course, am responsible for what is included here.

The Department of Geography, Liverpool University, made available a Social Science Research Council Studentship, and the SSRC provided extra funds enabling me to travel to Africa.

The Government of the Republic of the Sudan allowed access to and freedom of movement in Darfur Province.

Finally I would like to record my thanks to and appreciation of the peoples of the savannas, especially of Darfur Province, and the West Africans on pilgrimage, with whom I have spent some of the happiest hours of my life, and without whose open friendship, co-operation and help the study would not have been possible.

I

Introduction

1. *The Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca*

It is a tenet of Islam that all Muslims should make the pilgrimage to Mecca (the *hajj*) at least once in their lifetime, provided that they do not cause their families hardship by doing so. Whilst rites may be performed at any time of the year, the majority of pilgrimages are made at the *Id al Hajj* (the Feast of the Pilgrimage), which is the zenith of the Islamic year. For thirteen centuries, Muslims have converged annually on the Holy Cities of the Hijaz to celebrate this festival, little changed since its initiation.

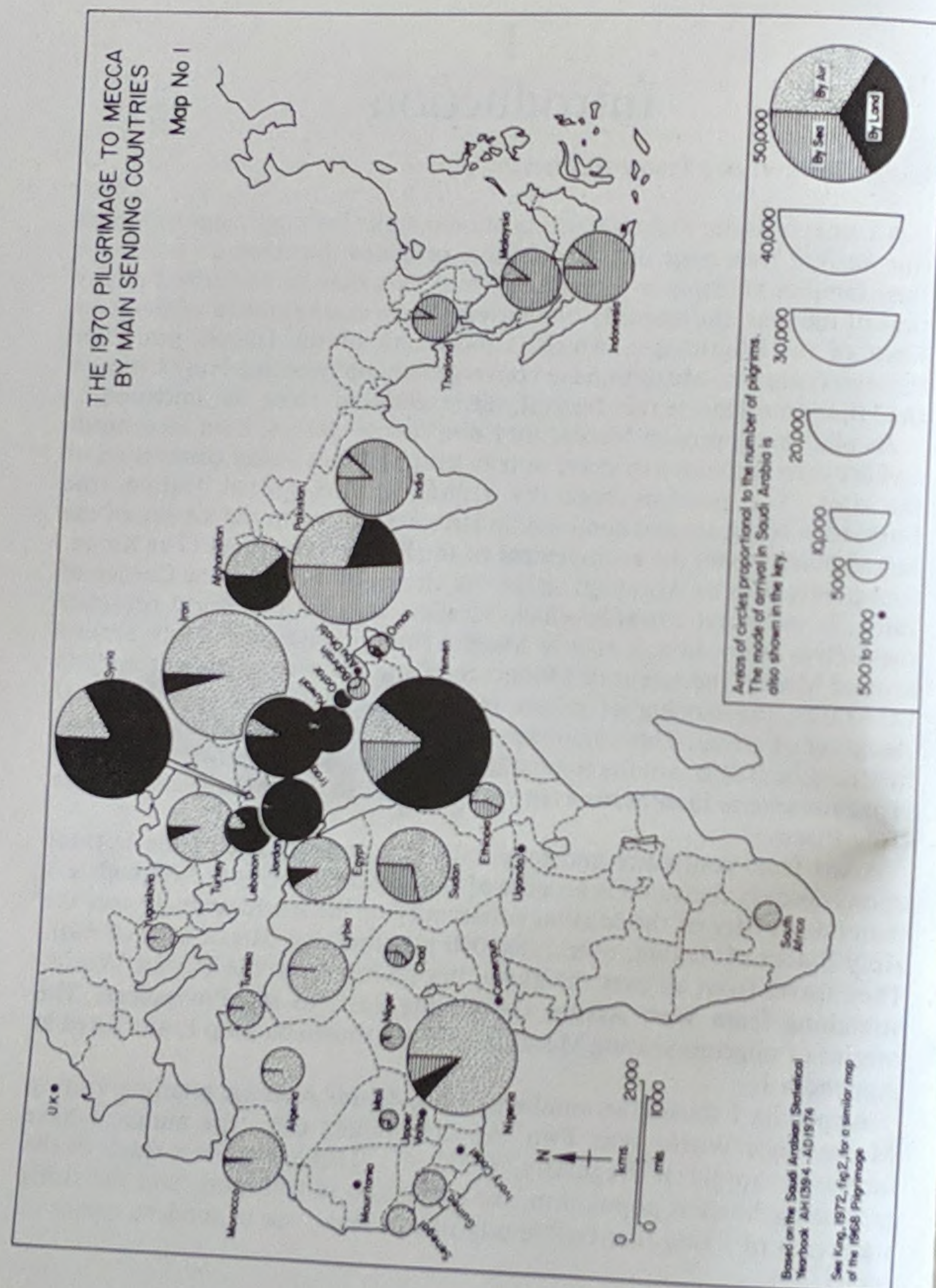
As pilgrims approach Mecca, they don simple clothes, bare their heads and are then forbidden to shave or trim their nails until after completion of the rites. The pilgrims begin by visiting the Masjid al Haram (the Forbidden Mosque) and continue, in strict routine, with the kissing of the sacred black stone; the encirclement of the Ka'ba seven times (The Ka'ba, supposedly built by Abraham on the site circled by Adam in the Garden of Eden, is the point towards which Muslims all over the world prostrate themselves every day); a visit to Magam Ibrahim and other Holy Shrines around Mecca; the ascent of Mounts Safa and Marwa; a visit to the Plain of Arafat; the stoning of pillars representing the devil; and the ritual slaughter of a ram. This completes the basic pilgrimage, but many stay on in Mecca, and also visit the tomb of Mohammed. Some pilgrims stay in the Hijaz for several months, or even years, hoping to die in the vicinity of the Holy Places.

Apart from continuity and regularity, this convergence of the faithful upon Mecca is also notable because of the numbers involved. Although less than one in fifty of the Muslim community of the world actually sees the Holy Places of Arabia, over 1,000,000 pilgrims visit Mecca at each *hajj*. They travel from all over the globe, but mainly from the Islamic World, stretching from West Africa, the Middle East, to the Philippines. The origins of pilgrims visiting Mecca in 1971 are shown on Map 1, and listed in Appendix I.

Appendix I shows the numbers of non-Saudi Arabian pilgrims visiting Mecca since World War Two. As King points out, 'the numbers have increased rapidly, if irregularly,' (1972; 67). This growth is a result of the increasing Muslim population, the revolution in transport, and the rising standards of living that enable pilgrims to make use of modern means of travel.

2. *Pilgrimage as an aspect of population mobility*

Pilgrimage is best defined as a journey, undertaken for religious motives, to a place regarded as sacred. The convergence upon Mecca is only one of many religiously-motivated movements of people; traditions of pilgrimage



in other religions are strong. Indeed the concept is present in virtually all sects, but with widely varied meanings and canonical structures (Bhardwaj, 1974).

Many pre-Christian religions laid stress upon pilgrimages. For example, Bharati (1973) describes those of the aboriginal Santhal of Chota Nagpur, eastern India, which are still made today. The Catholic church adopted pilgrimage in the third century. In mediaeval times, considerable numbers made the journey to Rome and Palestine, the Crusades being, in many respects, armed pilgrimages. Other great mediaeval movements to Christian Shrines include those to Santiago da Compostella in Galicia, Spain, where James, the son of Zebedee, is venerated (still continued on a small scale), and to the Tomb of Thomas à Beckett at Canterbury. More recent Christian pilgrimages are to La Salette in Dauphine, which began in 1846, and to Lourdes, dating from 1858. The latter is probably the largest Christian pilgrimage, involving over 3,500,000 pilgrims per annum. Another well-attended shrine, visited by over 2,000,000 each year, is that of St Anne de Beaupré in Quebec. There are many such centres in the New World, one of the most notable being the Church of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico.

Pilgrimage features large in India, where there is a vast complex of Hindu and other religious sites. Great unrecorded numbers travel to venerated shrines, and to bathe in holy rivers, especially the Ganges at Benares, where thousands of holy men are in residence. There are elements of pilgrimage even within Buddhism; the faithful visit sites associated with particular heights of *nirvana*. Such is the scale of pilgrimage in India that individual pilgrim resorts may attract over 2,000,000 pilgrims at a single gathering — a larger number of pilgrims than has ever been involved in any single *hajj*. In common with the Muslim movement to Mecca, pilgrims in India are also becoming more numerous (Bhardwaj, 1974).

Religiously-inspired movements to holy places can thus be considered an important element of the mobility of peoples. Pilgrim journeys form a large number of those population movements which are not a consequence of political or economic motives and, as will be shown, are perhaps more difficult to evaluate and regulate than movements consequent of more secular motives. Patterns of population flows to and from religious centres tend to be an especially important facet of mobility within an area because they are usually centripetal. These radial movements on either a continual or a periodic basis often cut across population streams moving as a consequence of local trade and other general socio-economic factors. Pilgrim flows are unusual in having so small and definite a focus, which draws people from source regions often having little in common with one another in politico-economic or geographical terms.

The volume of pilgrim movements may be too large for local political and economic systems to accommodate them: as a result special institutions have to be established. This is most common when pilgrim flows are aligned across prevailing patterns of mobility resulting from non-religious factors, and therefore across the major routeways and facilities for travel. Spontaneous and government-developed routes and accommodation are

instituted to aid the movement of pilgrims, and to minimise the disturbance to areas through which they pass. Such developments may be on a considerable scale, involving much outlay for either profit or idealistic motives. This may in turn influence local population movement, the facilities provided for pilgrims attracting travellers with other motives. Thus pilgrimage traffic may give rise to 'secondary flow of trade, cultural exchange, social mixing and political integration, as well as other less desirable flows such as the spread of epidemic diseases' (Sopher, 1967). The overall impact of the passage of pilgrims through an area may be great and varied, and therefore requires elucidation.

Pilgrim movements vary greatly in scale. Distances travelled to Mecca range from the local to the international and intercontinental. Furthermore, within the Islamic World there are many smaller scale pilgrimages to the tombs of locally venerated holy men and saints. Such excursions vary from daily movements of a few miles, such as those in the Maghrib (Roussel, 1954) and Punjab (O'Brien, 1911), to trans-desert treks from the south of the Sahara to the tomb of Ahmed Tijani in Fez. Many Shia make trips to local pilgrim resorts such as Kerbala in Iraq, and Messhed in Iran (Alberti, 1971). Different lengths of movement in Hindu India fall within an 'informal hierarchy of district, region and pan-Indian circulation' (Sopher, 1967; see also 1968); scale varies from frequent visits of a day or so to the local shrine or river, to a trip to the shrines near the Tibetan border, covering several thousand miles and taking years to complete. Within Christianity, local centres such as Walsingham in East Anglia, each with a limited regional attraction, are common, in addition to the famous major pilgrimages.

3. *Studies of pilgrimage*

Though a great deal of literature pertains to pilgrimage, few studies take it as a central theme; in most cases pilgrim duties and movement are dealt with as aspects of religion, rather than social and geographical phenomena. Of those works which do focus on pilgrimage, most deal with the emotional aspects, the excitements, hardships and rewards, usually from a theological point of view. Research after empirical facts has been limited, and under the conditions of most pilgrimages, such facts are hard to obtain or evaluate.

However, holy places and pilgrim resorts in various environments have been systematically studied. Pedreschi's (1971) survey of pilgrim centres and towns of important religious function in Italy, analyses determinants of their character, location and form, evaluating their impact upon the local geographical, economic and social patterns. Pilgrim resorts in India have been described by several geographers. Studies of temple towns were carried out by Naganatha (1937), and Thirunaranan and Padmanabhan (1957), covering Conjeeveran and Tiruttani respectively. These essays detail the physical form of the settlements, their social and commercial structure, and give estimates of pilgrim numbers and origins (mainly using data from the local railways). They illustrate the degree to which the towns are dependent upon the nearby temples.

Bharati's monographs (1963 and 1967) deal with pilgrimage in a broader context. He traces the development of a tradition of pilgrimage and the evolution of a pattern of holy sites in Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Tantric societies. Examination of modern rituals precedes an attempt to summarise the varied motives behind visits to shrines and holy sites, together with an assessment of the role and significance of pilgrimage in modern Indian life. Whilst Bharati writes from a religious rather than a geographical or sociological standpoint, his works do include some valuable data on the spatial pattern of holy sites, and on their setting and nature.

The first detailed work on spatial aspects of Indian pilgrimage was by Stoddard who, in 1966, presented a thesis 'Hindu Holy Sites in India'. This is largely an attempt to account for the distribution of holy sites as points optimally located with regard to the minimization of aggregate travel. In fact neither the distribution of the Hindu population, nor the occurrence of certain social characteristics within that population would explain the pattern of sites, for it had evolved some 2,000 years ago — before the present population parameters existed (Bhardwaj, 1974).

Muslim centres of pilgrimage on the Indian subcontinent are listed by O'Brien (1911), who also notes regional Muslim practices and rites associated with these local pilgrimages. Alberti (1971) has described Messhed, an important centre of regional pilgrimage in North East Iran. Publications about Mecca and Medina are numerous but varied in presentation and scholarship. Some, such as those of Burkhardt and Burton (1819 and 1893 respectively) are well known; others, such as Cobbold's work (1934), are less often quoted, but valuable. New, often popular works are commonly well illustrated, (Abercrombie, 1972), others reiterate historical fact, then bring it up to date (Blake, 1976).

Although there are many publications on pilgrim resorts, detailed studies of numbers involved in any particular pilgrimage, their social and demographic characteristics, origins, routes travelled and time taken, are very few. Even in Europe, Pedreschi (1971) found it difficult to obtain numbers of pilgrims visiting religious centres in Italy. No official figures are published for the pilgrimages to Lourdes, nor to other Catholic shrines.

A pioneer work on this aspect of pilgrimage takes two Hindu Holy Sites, and discusses the origins and social characteristics of pilgrims taking part in festivals (Sopher, 1969). Complementary studies of the local villagers show the significance of pilgrimage journeys in Indian life.

Another modern work on Hindu pilgrimage is by Bhardwaj (1974). This analyses the pattern of religious sites in an historical and cultural context, and describes samples of pilgrims attending religious festivals at some 12 sites in an historical and cultural context, and describes samples of pilgrims attending religious festivals at some 12 sites in northern India. Information about origins, distances travelled to the festivals, means of transport, caste and class, and the motives of the pilgrims is considered. The discussion of the characteristics of pilgrim groups, however, is only developed sufficiently to enable the ranking of different orders of holy site, according to the distances from which pilgrims are attracted.

Pilgrims actually 'on the road', again in India, are described by Karve (1962). She joined a group travelling between Alandi (in Poona) and Pandharpur (in Sholapur) in order to transfer the image of a saint, and has recorded her impressions of the difficult physical conditions endured by the pilgrims *en route*, as well as the spiritual and emotional hardships and rewards. She does not, however, give any accurate factual information.

On these facets of the Muslim pilgrimage there has been little modern study. Nineteenth century travellers wrote vivid accounts of pilgrims *en route* to Mecca; Denham and Clapperton (1828), and Boyd Alexander (1907), for example, described pilgrims whom they had met. Quantitative information is rather sparse, although some travellers, such as Burkhardt (1819), attempted to give numerical detail (see Al Nagar (1969) for a fuller discussion of this). Rather later, in 1929, Rutter gives some statistics about the convergence on Mecca, but it is only since 1946 that comprehensive, reasonably reliable figures have been available. These enabled King (1972) to review the pilgrimage in a new geographical context, as well as illustrating its historical development by drawing widely on secondary sources in European languages. His article includes a valuable bibliography of the *hajj*.

Three other major works on Muslim pilgrimage remain which are of direct relevance to this study. Data in Mather's thesis, 'Aspects of Migration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' (1953), condensed in an article in 'Geographical Essays on British Tropical Lands' (eds. Steel and Fisher, 1956), was also presented by Hassoun (1952). Mather's work, though concerned with pilgrimage from West Africa to Mecca, includes a great deal of general information about Africa, because he was very concerned to put pilgrimage in a full regional context, in order to demonstrate a methodological point about the unique nature of geography as a subject. Much of the information is, however, not relevant to a consideration of pilgrimage and detracts from the work. Nevertheless, the thesis contains information concerning pilgrim numbers and routes, which is referred to in sections of this study.

More recently, in 1969, Al Nagar presented a thesis entitled 'West Africa and the Muslim Pilgrimage: An Historical Study with Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century'. This examines the development of pilgrimage from West Africa making use of contemporary documents. Al Nagar begins with the introduction of Islam to the area south of the Sahara, and reviews the routes used by pilgrims, conditions along them, and motives behind departures at various periods. However, Al Nagar's assessment of present day conditions is brief. He simply considers the modern factors militating for or against the present day West African Muslim making the pilgrimage, and refers only in passing to the continuing movements overland. His thesis has been published as *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*, 1972, but here reference is made to the thesis.

In a recent book *Pilgrims in a Strange Land*, Works studied the formation of Hausa communities in Chad. After giving a general background about the Hausa people, and a very useful assessment of aspects of Chadian history, he deals in detail with the issues and personalities behind

the growth of the West African populations (mainly Hausa-Fulani) of Fort Lamy and Abeche. Works's study, based on fieldwork roughly contemporaneous with the research carried out for this study, gives some very useful data, comparable and complementary to the data presented here. It contains more detail on the Chadian case than this study, and reference is made to it in the relevant sections. One basic difference between Works's book and this one, apart from their different geographical areas of focus, is the stress in this study upon the characteristics and nature of present day pilgrimage and pilgrims, which is not covered in great depth by Works.

Generally speaking, then, in view of the importance of pilgrimage as an aspect of population mobility, relatively little academic study has been directed to the spatial and temporal elements of these religiously-motivated movements. Even though there is a wealth of literature on the Muslim *hajj* in particular, few studies have been directed towards an understanding of the form and nature, or international and local impact of the pilgrimage in the modern world. This study is a contribution towards redressing the paucity of studies on this aspect of population mobility.

II The Historical Perspective

The present day pilgrimage to Mecca from West Africa is the manifestation of a population movement which began deep in African history, with the introduction of Islam. Historical analysis of the development of pilgrimage and routes from West Africa used by the faithful is hampered by the fact that the greater part of contemporary information relates only to 'Royal Pilgrimages', and takes little account of the pilgrimages of the religious poor. Although in the early years of Islam most Muslims in the grasslands were of the trading and ruling classes, over time it became less a court religion, and more pilgrimages — indeed the majority — were made by the humble sections of the population.

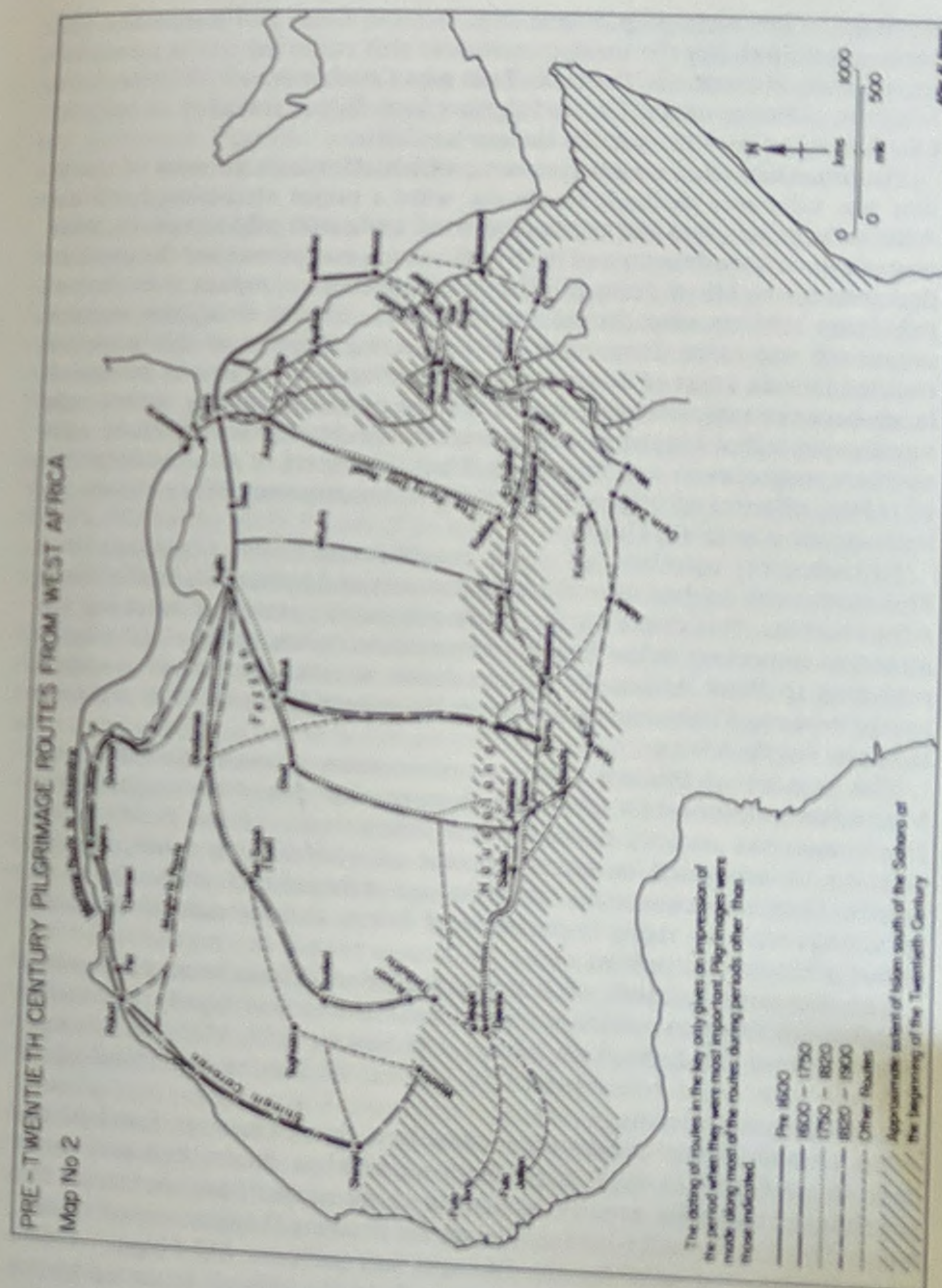
1. The pre-twentieth century development of pilgrimage traffic and routes from West Africa

This subject is dealt with in the general context of West African Islamic History by Bovill (1933, 1958), Trimingham (1962) and, in more detail, by Al Nagar (1969) and Works (1976). Al Nagar assesses varying attitudes to pilgrimage in West Africa, and factors affecting the alignment of routes, by reference to contemporary literature. His thesis and Works's book confirm and expand much of what is written in this chapter, so frequent reference has been made to them in this historical introduction.

The first pilgrimages to Mecca from Africa were from Fatimid Egypt. These early Muslims, in travelling to Hijaz via the Sinai Peninsula, established a route into Arabia which was used until the twentieth century, except for diversions made to Aydhab, in the south, during the Crusades. By the thirteenth century, pilgrim groups from as far west as Morocco linked with this Cairo caravan to Mecca (Map 2). As more of the population embraced Islam, and pilgrimage organization and traditions developed in North Africa, the Fez, Sijilmasa and Marrakesh caravans to Cairo became regular and important.

It was the existence of these established pilgrim caravans in North Africa, together with the northerly orientation of the commerce and social outlook of the savanna peoples, that caused the earliest Muslim pilgrims from West Africa to depart on the trans-Saharan tracks. These were, in fact, the routes along which Islam has been brought to the savannas. The earliest known West African pilgrim is believed to be *Mai Ume* of Bornu, who is said to have died in Egypt on his way to Mecca (O'Fahey, Private Communication). *Mai Idris Alooma*, and others who travelled to Mecca via the Maghrib and Cairo, were beginning a tradition of pilgrimage on the trans-Saharan routes. Similarly, Mansa Musa, and Askia Mohammed of Songhay made pilgrimages via Cairo in 1342 and 1492 (Al Nagar, 1969, 72; Works, 1976, 77).

The main trans-desert routes used by West African pilgrims are shown



on Map 2. The early pilgrimages were from Walata, and joined the Fez caravan to Sinai, but the indirect nature of this route led to the increased importance of those via Taghasa, Tuat and Ghadames, which joined the Maghrib caravans nearer Cairo. Pilgrims from Bornu travelled directly to Ghadames, or possibly via the Fezzan to Cairo.

The organised trans-desert caravans, which afforded a security of travel that was otherwise difficult to obtain, were a major attraction for West African pilgrims, and the combination of trade and pilgrimage on these routes was to the advantage of both in that each complemented the other in demands for rights of passage. The resulting larger caravans were less at risk from robbers who preyed on all routes. Travel along the western savannas* was more dangerous: the competing empires of the savannas resulted in wide areas of insecurity, and travellers were at risk in the march lands between major trading towns. In the central savannas, where only loose supra-tribal organizations prevailed, conditions for travellers were nowhere secure, even near the towns. Thus, in respect of all considerations of safety, pilgrims of origins in the western savannas tended to choose the trans-desert routes via Cairo.

Furthermore, members of royal families combined pilgrimage with diplomacy, and so they moved between courts and palaces along the North African coast. Residence in the more advanced centres of learning was almost as important as the *hajj* itself in enhancing the status of the pilgrim returning to West Africa. In the savannas, no such centres of learning, except perhaps Timbuctu, and later in Hausaland, were of such repute as those in North Africa.

The balance of this early pattern of routeways was disturbed by the Moroccan invasion of Songhay, which meant that one of the major aids to pilgrimage was severely curtailed; the desert routes from West Africa, emptied of organised caravans because of a decline in trade, became unsafe. Contemporaneously, there was an eastward shift of power in the grasslands with the rising importance of Bornu and Hausaland: the more westerly empires atrophied.

The increased hazards of travel from West Africa brought about a 'theological reaction' which amounted to 'an attempt legally to absolve Muslims from the duty of pilgrimage' (Al Nagar, 1969; 158). To this end, Koranic texts were reinterpreted in efforts to devalue the standing of pilgrimage within Islam.

As a result, many conscientious Muslims felt themselves freed of the duty to perform the *hajj*; departures of pilgrims diminished and court pilgrimages made by royalty became a thing of the past. A few of the especially pious set off for Mecca northwards along the trans-desert routes, in particular that used by the Shinqiti salt caravan (Al Nagar, 1969). Others, however, began to move eastwards to Hausaland, attracted by the relatively secure trading caravans which departed from Kano, with which

*It has been found convenient to divide the savannas into three areas. From Lake Chad westwards will be referred to as the 'western savannas'; between Lake Chad and Darfur as the 'central savannas'; and from Darfur to Ethiopia as the 'eastern savannas'.

they could continue their journey to Cairo. This movement along the grasslands comprised the first important flow of pilgrims along the savannas. Their eastward trek along the savannas did not continue beyond Hausaland, however, from whence they crossed the desert between Kano and the Fezzan. Pilgrims from Bornu even travelled westwards to Hausaland, to join the Kano caravans, rather than traverse the desert to the east in less organised groups.

The *Jihad*, (or Holy War and Islamic Revival) beginning in about 1750, was the next major influence on West African pilgrimage. It might be imagined that a *Jihad* would increase the number of pilgrim departures, as converts swelled a Muslim community more concerned with religious standards. However, just as Lacroix (1966) has cast doubt upon the large numbers of pagans previously thought to have been brought into Islam, Al Nagar (1969) shows that there was no large increase in pilgrim numbers.

The *Jihad* did not oust the view of abstention from pilgrimage prevailing in West Africa and, in fact, devalued the *hajj* still further: the deed of Holy War gave heavenly rewards equal to, if not greater than, those accruing from a visit to the Holy Places. The lack of attention given to the *hajj* was sanctioned by the theocratic states, although this was far from the ideal upon which the *Jihad* caliphates were modelled (Al Nagar, 1969; 240).

Al Nagar asserts that political expediency militated against the Caliphs' having pilgrimage high on their personal and state priorities. It was thought in West Africa that in the thirteenth century of *Hijra* (i.e., 1200 years after the birth of Mohammed) the world would end, and the Fulani were to migrate to Hijaz as a chosen people in culmination of the *Jihads*. So passionately was this story believed that it was feared that a ruler visiting Hijaz would precipitate a mass migration. Therefore, none of the Caliphs visited Mecca, fearing that anarchy would result. Attempts that were made to initiate marches eastwards (such as that by Mallam Yamusa) were quashed: the Caliphate thought the time for mass movement to the Hijaz had not yet come.

This discouragement did not mean that there were no pilgrims during the *Jihads*; there was perhaps even a light increase, and by the nineteenth century, they comprised more humble members of society. The pilgrims were increasingly 'not ruling classes, nor ordinary people, rather religious extremists' (Trimingham, 1962).

During this period, some trans-desert pilgrimage movements still continued in the far west, connecting with the annual Maghrib caravan to Cairo. These routes along the northern coast of Africa were moving inland, as a result of European occupation, and passed through Tuat (Map 2). Pilgrims crossing the desert were not all on their way to Mecca, however; many were travelling to Fez where Ahmed Tijani, founder of the Tijaniyya sect, is buried.

As the *Jihad* progressed, most pilgrims from the west travelled south of the desert to Hausaland along varied routes to avoid the most disturbed areas. For example, in the 1830s, pilgrims from Futa avoided Djenne, but by the 1840s, they were arriving there. To the east of Hausaland there was still little movement along the savannas, for most crossed the desert from

Kano to join the pilgrim caravans of the north (but see Works, 1976; 10-14). From Katsina alone there were regular organised departures of trans-desert caravans of up to 300 pilgrims (Al Nagar, 1969; 275). Even in the late nineteenth century, few West African pilgrims travelled along the savannas to the east of Bornu.

2. The development of pilgrimage traffic along the eastern savannas

Reluctance to travel along the savannas was also a feature of pilgrimages from Wadai and Dar Fur. From Wadai, the main route passed northwards, through the Kufra Oasis. Similarly, pilgrims from Dar Fur travelled to Cairo along the Forty Day Road. In the 1790s Browne met pilgrims from Dar Fur in Cairo (1799; 195), and the route through Kufra was in use as late as 1864 (Al Nagar, 1969; 267).

Indeed, so limited was the longitudinal outlook of these trading states that, when Islam was first introduced, the direct route to Mecca along the grasslands was not known. Just as the body of Sakura was taken to the east via the Fezzan (Beckingham, 1963), so in this early period all pilgrims crossed the desert to Cairo. Although by the seventeenth century the savanna route was probably known, pilgrims from Wadai and Dar Fur continued to cross the desert.

Both cause and effect of this reluctance to make the pilgrimage along the savannas was the late adoption of Islam by the people in the eastern grasslands. It was not until the 1750s, when Sultan Teyrab annexed Kordofan, that Muslim governments held sway from Lake Chad to the Red Sea (O'Fahey, 1968). Even then, these powers were only nominally Muslim, and although Islam had long been present, paganism remained dominant amongst the people until the twentieth century; even in 1910 Kumm refers to the Bagirmi leaders as only 'functionally Muslim', (1910; 120).

This meant that opportunities for scholarship *en route* to Mecca along the savannas were poor. Furthermore, the lives and property of pilgrims were at still greater risk when travelling through such pagan populations; even the occupation by Dar Fur of Kordofan, so important in the geographic spread of Islam, did not mean safety of travel in this area, even for learned men, partly because of political disturbances as evidenced by Browne, who could not use the direct route to Sennar in 1793 (Brown, 1792; 1806; O'Fahey, 1968).

The first pilgrims to traverse eastern sections of the savannas were from Dar Fur. Pilgrims from Dar Fur, mostly of the nobility, had been arriving in Mecca since about 1700, but by the mid-eighteenth century, people too poor to afford the expensive trip across the desert to Egypt wished to visit Hijaz. Their only means of reaching Mecca was to travel due eastwards towards the Red Sea, risking attack by robbers *en route* if in possession of money, or relying upon the charity of local peoples if poverty-stricken. This latter method proved possible. Eventually, pilgrims from further west heard of these movements along the eastern savannas, and travelled from Hausaland and Bornu to join the route from Dar Fur to Sennar. These

were the most humble Muslims—those who benefited least from the courtly progress of the trans-desert routes, and so are mentioned only infrequently in records. Probably the earliest documentary evidence of the use of the savanna routeway to the Niles by pilgrims from the west is the founding of the West African colony of Ras el Fil, which was established by a group before setting off back to West Africa from Hijaz in about 1750. (Robinson, 1926; Smyth, 1924)

There is an earlier tradition of pilgrimage along the savannas from West Africa which states that the Kanuri and Kanembo founders of the 'Bornu' population of the province settled *en route* to Mecca in the early seventeenth century (see p.101). This would confirm Arkell's assertions of Bornu influence in the Sudan in this period (but see O'Fahey and Spaulding, 1974), and is fair evidence that some pilgrimage was taking place along the grasslands shortly after 1600 (Arkell, 1951, 1952). However, even in the 1820s the number of pilgrims arriving at the Nile from Dar Fur alone was greater than those from further west. As late as the nineteenth century only about 500 per annum travelled eastwards to the Nile; prior to 1800 numbers were probably even smaller (Burkhardt, 1819).

Nevertheless, Al Nagar is correct in writing that 'by the beginning of the nineteenth century the pilgrimage route through the Nile was a readily available alternative to the Sahara, and was attracting pilgrims from as far west as Futa Toro' (Al Nagar, 1969; 285). Works writes that during the nineteenth century the *hajj* was becoming increasingly an option for individuals and groups, forming one aspect of the various migrations set in train by the civil strife prevailing in the west (1976, 14). In contrast to the earlier periods, movements of pilgrims along the savannas in the nineteenth century are well-documented, mainly by European explorers. Typical of their accounts are those of Hadji Boubeker and Omar Ibn Said (Rouzee, 1822; Clapperton, 1829). Controversy surrounding the detail of some of their journeys does not invalidate the assertion that, by the 1800s pilgrimages made along the savannas were becoming increasingly frequent.

3. The evolution of pilgrimage routes along the eastern savannas

Since the study of the evolution of pilgrim routes across Darfur Province is a basic element of this work, the pre-twentieth century development of routes along the central and eastern savannas is considered in detail here, under chronological headings based on significant events in the Sudan. Al Nagar, 1969, and Works, 1976, also give details of these pilgrimage tracks, with details of individual historical caravan trips (Works, 1976, 16).

The pre-Turkish period: pre-1821 The increasing numbers of pilgrimages made along the savannas, rather than via the Fezzan, did not threaten the position of Kano as a centre of pilgrim activity, which has continued to the present day. In the early nineteenth century, the less direct route eastwards from Hausaland which passed south of Bornu to Adamawa became popular (Map 2). This was part of a general fanning out of pilgrimage routes across Chad, changes in alignment responding to varied local

political conditions. Pilgrim caravans were not always subject to the same constraints as groups of traders, however, and there are instances of these two functions of caravans becoming divorced. Works quotes for example of the continuing use of the track through Kanem between 1817 and 1822, by pilgrims, when commercial traffic ceased (Works, 1976; 27). This originally passed on to Massenya, but later, pilgrims opened a new route to Dar Rouna (Kumm, 1910; 262). From Dar Rouna they travelled to Kafia Kingi, and on north-eastwards to El Obeid, which was the focus of several routes and an island of stability in this turbulent and lawless area. A colony of West Africans was established there before the Turkish period (Mather, 1956; 178).

More popular was the direct route due east through Bornu, Massenya, Wadai and El Fasher. From El Fasher the route struck due eastwards to El Obeid, and to Sennar, from where the pilgrims followed the Fung Trade routes through Abyssinnia to Massawa, or Ras El Fil to Suakin, from where they sailed by *sambuk* to Hijaz (Burkhardt, 1819). Other routes eastwards from El Fasher went to Shendi via Sodiri or Bara, after which the pilgrims took the old Berber caravan route to the Red Sea, and along the traditional trading route of the Keira Sultanate — the Forty Day Road, still used for trade in the nineteenth century.

The Sudanese Turkiyya: 1821-1881 The impact that the Turkiyya had on the Sudan is well-known. Trimingham, for example, writes that by 1879 the Sudan was 'in a state of utter misery through misgovernment and exploitation ... people governed by force and paralysed by heavy taxation, the spread of fly areas, the ruination of provinces, the disintegration of pagan tribal communities, their constant alarms, flights, migrations and the rupture of family ties.' (1949; 93).

The effect of this upon pilgrimage is difficult to assess. The initial Turkish invasion, which failed to take Dar Fur, increased pilgrim movement along the Forty Day Road, partly commensurate with increased trade along this route, but also indicative of a reluctance of pilgrims to pass through the Turkish Sudan. Over time, however, they reverted to the direct route.

By the end of the Turkiyya, pilgrimage traffic along the savannas had increased considerably in volume. Ibrahim Pasha's action against the Wahhabites (1811-1818) had made the Holy Places safer for West Africans, encouraging their pilgrimage once their passage through the Sudan was secured (Willis, 1926; 38). Even more important in concentrating pilgrimage traffic through Dar Fur were the European incursions into the North African desert, causing pilgrims to use routes passing due eastwards rather than across the desert (Al Nagar, 1969; 285). Many who were setting off to Mecca in order to be present at the coming of the Mahdi also swelled traffic through the grasslands (Trimingham, 1962; 214).

Pilgrims passing through the Sudan in the Turkish period ran the risk of enslavement, for although the directive from Cairo was that no Muslims should be taken into slavery, many were. This brought about a route through the south to Deim Zubier, following the Nile from Wau, where a

West African settlement was founded, to Sennar. Whichever route pilgrims took through the Turkish Sudan, it is certain that travel was very risky and difficult, so this intervention of a 'European' power in the savannas did little to aid and popularise pilgrimage, in contrast to those which followed.

The Mahdiyya: 1881-1898 The Mahdi, Muhammed Ahmed, freed the Sudan from 'the yoke of the infidel Turk', by declaring a *Jihad*. There followed a period of even worse disruption than in the Turkiyya, together with a government expressing anti-pilgrimage sentiments.

On obtaining power in the Sudan, the Mahdi asked the rulers of the West African savanna theocracies to pay him allegiance as the expected Mahdi. Only the 'Rebel Emirate' of Adamawa heeded the call, and was intent upon a pilgrimage to Omdurman to pay him homage. This was only prevented by Rabih, dismissed briefly by Trimingham as 'a military adventurer (whose) career of rapine and slaughter is important only in so far as it accounts for the final ruin of the Chad region' (1962; 218).

Rabih was a Jallabi slave who, for twenty years prior to the French occupation of Chad, held much of Bagirmi and south-eastern Chad in a loose empire (Works, 1976; 28-9). He was supposedly allied to the Mahdi, but, by continual procrastination, prevented the Emir of Adamawa from embarking upon the trip to Omdurman until the Mahdi's death ended the desire. Rabih's empire, astride the route to Mecca, was established just at the time when pilgrimage caravans on the Fezzan routes were threatened, so many pilgrims were setting off along the savannas.

Little is known of Rabih's attitude to pilgrims. Stories of his inconsistent judgment abound in Wadai and Darfur, and the lack of any real law in his short-lived empire must have made travel through it difficult. The most important zone of pilgrim transit whilst Rabih was on the rampage shifted southwards from the direct route, and passed through southern Chad, south of his main area of influence, on the Ndele route (Maps 2 and 3). Rabih tried to control pilgrimage traffic leaving Bornu by ordering all caravans to pass through his capital whilst it was at Dikwa (Kumm, 1910; 262). How effective he was in this is not known. What is certain is that Rabih forced the pilgrim traffic increasingly onto the southern route, to the degree that has become known as the *Hanyar Rabih*, or Rabih's road (see also Works, 1976; 28).

Many West Africans, attracted by the Mahdi, moved into the Sudan. Although no mass *hijra* occurred, considerable numbers arrived in small groups (Works, 1976; 27). The flow continued even after the death of the Mahdi. Whether such movements can be considered pilgrimages is a moot point. Certainly the majority of those who moved east did not make the *hajj* in the strict Islamic sense of the word, for this entails visiting Mecca, deemed unnecessary by the Mahdi. Al Nagar takes the view that, although the Mahdi caused the movements of large numbers of West Africans into the Sudan, he was a barrier to those who wanted to perform a genuine pilgrimage and were not Mahdist inspired (1969; 283).

The eastward drift of West Africans was to turn into a much more

substantial flow in the twentieth century with the European occupation of the savanna lands. This expansion of the movement of West Africans, spurred by mixed motives, and resulting in substantial West African colonisation of the central and eastern savannas, has been called 'the popularisation of the savanna routeway'. It brought about a completely new attitude towards the *hajj* amongst West Africans, and has all but blotted out the previous trans-Saharan tradition of pilgrimage.

III

Pilgrimage and the Savanna Routeway in the Twentieth Century

By the beginning of the twentieth century, trans-desert pilgrimage from West Africa was becoming rare, though not until 1911 was the Fezzan route closed completely. Of necessity then, overland pilgrimage in the twentieth century was along the savannas, using the routes established by such as Hadji Boubeker, which had previously carried a growing but only relatively small number to Mecca. Movement along the grasslands is now thought by most West Africans to have been their traditional means of making the *hajj*.

1. *The twentieth century growth of Islam*

During the early colonial period, Islam expanded rapidly in West Africa, the Tijaniyya providing a united expression of anti-European feeling. The spread of Islam under the instability immediately before and after European incursion was inevitable: its growth has always been most rapid in times of social upheaval (Lewis, 1966).

Colonial rule had the effect of breaking down traditional loyalties, and expansion of trading and labour markets encouraged migration, further dislocating traditional contacts within the extended family and the tribe, rendering people prone to Islamatisation, especially in an alien urban environment. Direct impetus was sometimes deliberately given to the spread of Islam by the sponsoring of Koranic or religiously based schools, and in some cases, subsidies to pilgrimage. The overall effect of the colonial period was a great expansion in the numbers professing Islam.

Since the savanna countries of West Africa became independent, the expansion of Islam has continued at the expense of both Christianity and Paganism. The erosion of traditional society, begun during the colonial period, has continued and intensified under independent rule. Islam has been related to unity and community under government, and also used as a banner of rebellion, in both cases bringing the religion to the fore, and probably gaining converts.

The larger body of West African Muslims is likely to generate more pilgrims. This is not to assert that, at any time, more than a small proportion of the Islamic community is contemplating pilgrimage seriously. Nevertheless, in the twentieth century, more pilgrims from this growing number of devotees are likely to depart for Mecca than ever before.

2. *Influences on pilgrimage in twentieth century West Africa*

In the early twentieth century the risks and hardships involved in making the pilgrimage were greatly reduced. So bad were conditions in pre-colonial

times that pilgrims departing for Mecca were not expected to return home. On departure they were consequently obliged to sell their property, and to give their wives the opportunity of divorce if they were not accompanying them. The risk of death *en route* from disease, thirst or violence was considerable, as was the possibility of enslavement.

Most important, the colonial period brought increased security, and transportation improvements which were to revolutionise the *hajj*. By 1909, the railhead had reached El Obeid from the Nile, so that even pilgrims who could not afford the fare could follow the tracks, which gave a direct route to the Red Sea; later, motor transport on a large scale gave an ease of movement to and from Mecca that spurred many to making the pilgrimage. In the 1950's the possibility of travel by air gave a new dimension to pilgrimage and reduced numbers passing overland.

Social pressures that were developing in the west made pilgrimage 'almost expected' of certain persons in society (Al Nagar, 1969; 334). Koranic teachers may not feel morally bound to perform pilgrimage, but are obliged to enhance their reputation. The desire to improve one's social status has become a major driving force behind the making of the *hajj*. Adding *al hajj* (Arabic) *alhaji* (Hausa) to one's name implies associations with famous pilgrims and 'the community of Islam'. Indeed, it may be an effective economic investment to make the pilgrimage, for business can be conducted more effectively bearing this prestigious title. However, spiritual motives behind the *hajj* remain strong; apart from the orthodox, who look upon pilgrimage as a duty, others believe it to atone for grave sins, and to be a means of gaining mercy from God, or preparing for heaven (Al Nagar, 1969; 334).

In contrast, many modern factors militate against a West African Muslim's making the pilgrimage. Al Nagar maintains that it is still the hardest tenet of Islam to perform, for it is financially beyond the reach of most people — although they are not obliged to set off if they do not have the resources (1969; 335). This is very liberally interpreted by many modern Muslims, who put a high standard of living before investment in pilgrimage.

A post-colonial factor threatening the freedom of movement of pilgrims has been the rise in nationalism and the closing of borders to overland travellers. The source countries do not wish to lose population, and those along the route fear the development of substantial minority groups of West Africans and the menace to health they represent. The forbidding of overland pilgrimage has meant that the only way to perform a legal pilgrimage today is by air, which is too expensive for the majority of West African Muslims.

3. The mixed motives for migration

Embarkation upon pilgrimage is often confused with other motives for departure. A migrant may not be sure in his own mind which is the overriding motive in his decision to move. Mather, in the 1940's found it 'difficult to untangle the web of stimuli' behind the migration; 'rarely does

a pilgrim migrate because of one aspect of life alone' (Mather, 1953; 132). Earlier, in 1926 Willis wrote that: 'Pilgrimage and migrations across the continent ... are all entwined together' (Willis, 1926; 1).

Motives remain difficult to assess. Migrants on the move for secular reasons may masquerade as pilgrims for: 'The duty of making the pilgrimage provides the migrants with a reason for leaving their country which it is impossible to deny, and leaves them free to choose, (once outside the boundaries of their initial government) when and how they go on pilgrimage, or even if they go at all' (Willis, 1926; 2). Large numbers have moved *en masse* along the savannas for reasons other than pilgrimage. The British, in the popular view, were the cause of the 1913 famine in Hausaland, and were also seen as punishment from God (Palmer, 1919; Al Nagar, 1969; 248). As the British could not be dislodged, many migrated to a country governed by Muslims (*Dar al Islam*), of which Hijaz was the most attractive. Perhaps important was the Africans' 'superstitious desire to die nearer Mecca', to achieve martyrdom within Islam. The tradition of the imminent arrival of a Mahdi in Hijaz was also in the minds of many who trekked eastwards. Some believed that the Mahdi had yet to arrive on earth, others believed that Mohammed Ahmed's (the Sudanese Mahdi's) son was destined to lead the African Muslims, and so made Sir Abd Al Rahman al Mahdi the object of their devotions and pilgrimage.

A common cause of migration eastwards has been dissatisfaction with colonial and nationalist administrations. There have probably been proportionally larger movements from the French-held territories than from the British, French direct rule proving less amenable to Africans. Specific instances of migration from Chad to avoid military service comprise bulges in a continual outward flow. This emigration is also a result of detribalisation and segmentation 'which has given rise to the dynamic and unqualified assertion of individual usufructuary rights' (Thomas, 1956; 65).

An important attraction in the east is the established West African population of the Nile valley. Many colonies were founded there by the Muslims who fled from northern Nigeria. That they established colonies in a territory recently annexed by the power from which they were escaping is ironic, but they were disillusioned at having found the way to Mecca already occupied by a European power, and 'were looking for somewhere to settle before making the pilgrimage' (Al Nagar, 1969; 246). People who are dissatisfied with their lot in West Africa depart more easily with the knowledge that relatives are established in the east.

The twentieth century has seen a great expansion in longitudinal trade along the savannas. This is part of the general expansion of the monetary system in Africa, and involves the trading of kola nuts, perfume and religious trinkets. The wide dispersion of West African traders across the savannas has resulted in a constant east-west movement which may be intimately intertwined with pilgrimage and hard to distinguish from it. (Works, 1976. Chapter 5).

West Africans generally believe that considerable opportunity exists in the Sudan: that lands are available for farming, and wages can always be earned on the agricultural schemes. Whilst attracting non-pilgrims, this

has enabled many pilgrims to finance their journeys, and must have helped many of the more weak-hearted to take the plunge and depart.

4. The twentieth century pattern of routes

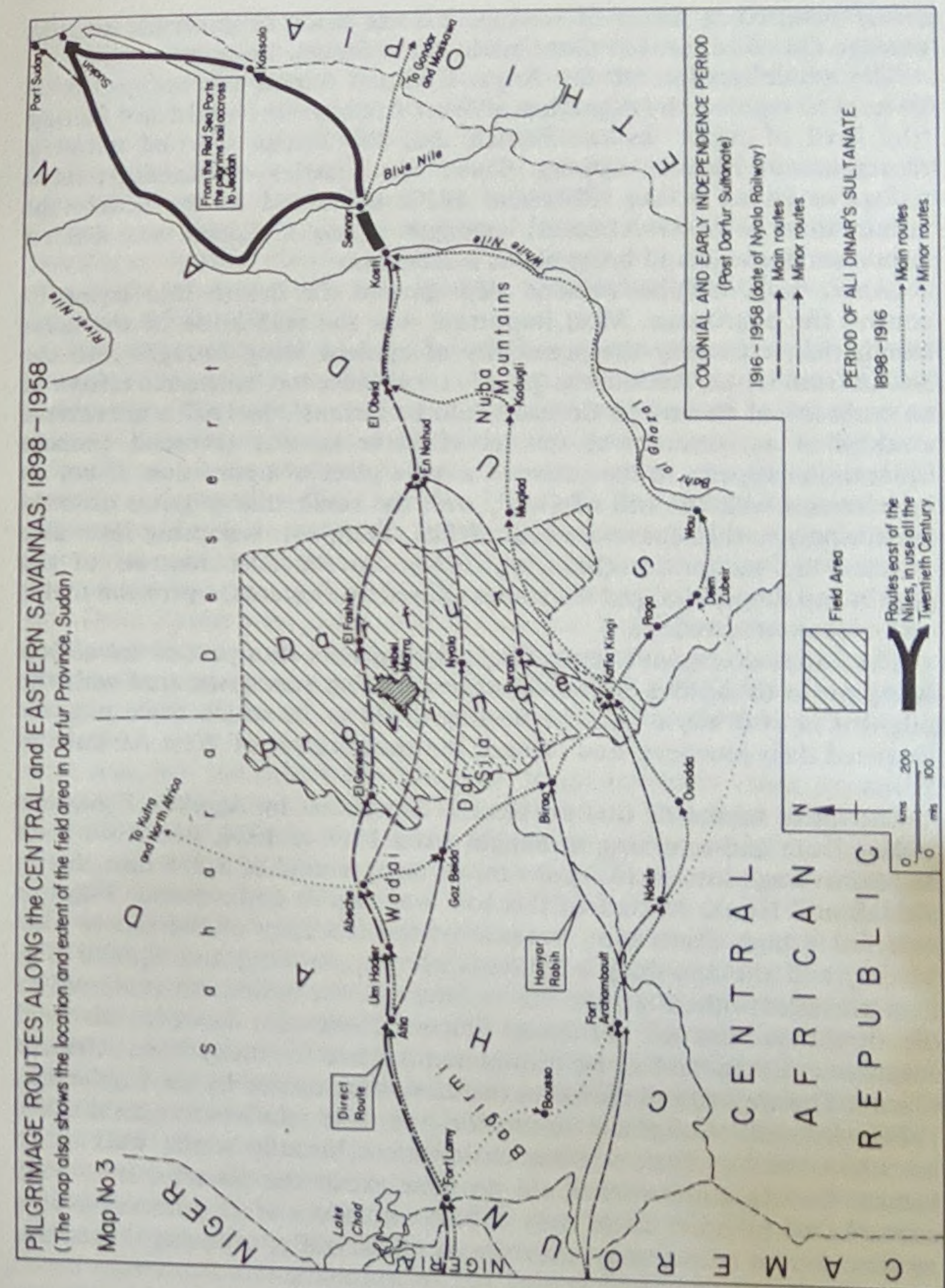
The routes used had been in existence since the eighteenth century, those described by Kumm being the most important (1910; 262). Pilgrims on the southerly route (Map 2) passed up the River Chari to Fort Archambault,* then struck eastwards along the Hanyar Rabih to Ndele and Kafila Kingi, where they turned north-eastward to El Obeid through Abu Gabra, El Odeiya and En Nahud. There this route linked up with what Kumm called 'the more normal route', directly from Bornu to El Obeid via Atia, Abeche and El Fasher. On the fall of Darfur to the British in 1916, more pilgrims took this route through El Fasher (Map 3), but whilst the westward flow of pilgrims quickly became concentrated, the eastward flow remained more diffuse.

In the early 1920s Willis considered that there were four routes from the west, all converging on El Obeid and En Nahud. Apart from the direct route, these entered the Sudan via Dar Sila and Dar Rouna, through or near Kafila Kingi. The remote routes enabled travellers to enter the Sudan without contact with the government, for although the British sanctioned the *hajj*, pilgrims were wary of authority and hoped to avoid quarantines and inoculations. Others were not bona fide pilgrims, but fugitives, who travelled in constant fear of deportation westwards.

To the east of El Obeid, pilgrim traffic followed the main lines of communication. Once well inside the Sudan, the travellers considered that there was little chance of their clashing with the administration. However, distrust of the British meant that a stream of pilgrims continued to leave the Sudan for Abyssinnia, to sail to Arabia from Massawa, risking illegal entry into Hijaz.

5. Early colonial controls on pilgrimage routes

The first European attempt to interfere with pilgrimage along the savannas was unusual in that it was revenue-orientated. Shortly after 1900, a German attempt to impose a levy upon caravans crossing the Camerouns failed, because rather than pay, pilgrim caravans trekked around the north of Lake Chad, through French territory (Kumm, 1910; 216). Such reluctance to pay dues has characterised reactions of pilgrims to all controls, which have never been provided free of charge, and has always proved a stumbling block in attempts to regulate pilgrim flow. It is this parsimony about which Willis wrote 'It has been said, with truth, that a Fallati (i.e. a West African) will walk 100 miles to avoid paying 10 piastres' (1926; 5). The French, in the early 1920s, began to take steps towards controlling the pilgrimage (Works, 1976; 82), not as a result of the desire for revenue, but because of a general policy of reducing Islamic influence, *Now renamed Sarh but, as in the case of Fort Lamy, the earlier name is retained here.



partly justified by cases of slaving. Efforts made to supervise pilgrim passage did not approach those made in the Sudan, however.

The administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan felt compelled to attempt to regulate the migration of West Africans for, whilst not fearing 'the Peril of Islam' as the French did, the British worried about a resurgence of Mahdist activity. There was a series of Mahdist-related risings in Sudan in the 1920s and 1930s which led to the belief that immigration of West Africans, amongst whom Mahdism was still an important force, could bring about a rebellion.

Other, more tangible reasons also spurred the British into trying to control the pilgrimage. Most important was the realisation of the great health risk, especially the possibility of cholera being brought into the Sudan from Hijaz. Action was quickly taken since the 'economic effects of an outbreak of cholera in Gezira would be serious'. In 1907 a quarantine established at Suakin was not as effective as was intended because 'quarantine appears to the native as a mere piece of oppression, if not an interference with the will of God', with the result that pilgrims diverted increasingly to the Massawa route (Willis, 1926; 33). Relapsing fever also worried the authorities (Maurice, 1932). So the first controls of the pilgrimage simply changed the routes chosen by migrants, a problem that it still encountered today.

The initial attempts at controlling pilgrims were also part of the efforts being made to rid the Sudan of slavery, which was associated with the pilgrims in two ways: first the dealing in slaves by which some pilgrims financed their journeys, and second, the enslavement of West Africans in Hijaz.

The latter aspect of this problem is illustrated by figures of pilgrims sailing from and returning to Suakin from 1917 to 1924, which show an annual average loss of 14.9 per cent of men, a total of 3,278 men lost in Jiddah and Hijaz. Not all of this loss was due to enslavement. Pilgrims suffered a high death rate, because of the tendency of the old to visit Mecca, and the appalling conditions of overcrowding and squalor that then prevailed; others wished not to return to the Sudan but preferred to die in the vicinity of the Holy Places. There was however no paid employment then, and so no economic incentive for many West Africans to stay. The majority of the losses therefore were caused by slaving (Willis, 1926) — a result of pilgrims' destitution (they sold relatives to gain the fare home), as well as their forcible enslavement, usually whilst walking to Mecca. Border authorities could do little about the poverty; if it were insisted that pilgrims could only depart for Mecca if in possession of a certain amount of currency, they simply left illegally, exposing themselves to even greater risks.

The administration could take more effective steps to prevent trading in slaves by pilgrims. It was easy for West Africans to purchase children whilst passing along the savannas, to be sold in Hijaz at immense profits. Checks for slaves carried out at Suakin proved ineffective, for little could be done unless a specific complaint was made. These were rare because of slavery's continuing social acceptance. Arabs in the west of the Sudan were

still slave-trading in the 1930s. To prevent slaving the pilgrims were to be limited to one route, and made to pass directly across the Sudan, without the chance to dawdle and buy children. This meant confining the pilgrims to the north, away from the non-Muslim population, so an official route was declared through El Geneina, El Fasher and El Obeid.

However, the only way to enforce the concentration of pilgrims on the direct route was by appealing to the indigenous sheikhs in the west of the Sudan to ensure that groups of West Africans should not be allowed to wander or dawdle. Needless to say, the measure was not effective, and in the 1940s pilgrims were still entering the Sudan through Kafia Kingi (Mather, 1953; 160-165).

This attempted control of pilgrim flow was associated with another aspect of the problem of West Africans in the Sudan — that of their settlement. The settlers — refugees and pilgrims who had failed to return home — sometimes disrupted established indigenous groups. In the Nuba Mountains, a large number of West Africans settled near Dilling in 1923, causing deforestation (Willis, 1926; 7). It was hoped that the control of settlement (desirable under the Southern Policy) would in time influence the routes used by pilgrims, so many West Africans living in the south were moved northwards: in 1929 the West African settlements at Kafia Kingi and Deim Zubier were razed, and in southern Kordofan, the size of West African settlements was restricted in the hope that migrants would settle in the northern savannas near the railway (Mather, 1953; 175). In practice, this was difficult to enforce. Migrants continued to travel largely as they wished.

It was not the administration, but lorry transport, that eventually brought about concentration of pilgrims on to the main route. Lorry transport never entirely superseded pilgrimage on foot or by pack animal, but by the end of the 1940s the majority of traffic was concentrated along the truck route from Maidugari to El Obeid. East of El Obeid, most pilgrims continued by rail. The westward pilgrim flow utilized lorry transport first, the earnings available on the Gezira enabling them to pay fares. Government-approved organizations sprang up to cater for the large scale transport of pilgrims along the savannas: 'Tarzan Transport', for example, took them from Maidugari to Khartoum and back. Eastward-moving pilgrims were generally less able and willing to travel by lorry. The impecunious and those with no documents travelled on foot as before.

Towards the end of the 1950s, overland pilgrimage was declining because of the development of cheap air transport on a charter basis, catering especially for the *haji*. By 1960, over 6,000 pilgrims per year were flying to Mecca from Nigeria alone; overland pilgrimage was becoming a relict movement and governments felt able to forbid it. But, just as lorry transport had not superseded pedestrian pilgrimage, air transport has not completely eclipsed pilgrimage by lorry, nor probably will it ever do so.

6. Numbers of pilgrims passing along the savannas in the twentieth century

The records of colonial and national administrations make it possible to

quantify the flow of pilgrims after 1900. However, figures are inaccurate and incomplete, and must be treated with great circumspection.

To the west of Nigeria, there is no effective record of pilgrim movements at all. Travelling pilgrims pass through border posts under false pretences, often as labourers, because this requires less expensive documentation, or avoid border posts altogether, crossing all borders illegally. For example, a respondent from near Bamako arrived in Darfur with no documents at all, never having been through a police post. A border post was established in Bornu in 1920 and has since been recording the passage of pilgrims, but the records are not of great value in assessing the numbers leaving Nigeria for so many leave illegally. Records give a better impression of numbers returning home, since more travel legally in a westerly direction.

The entry into and passage of pilgrims across Cameroun sometimes does not even involve a head count. Since their route only crosses Cameroun in the far north, the government's view is that the transit of pilgrims is best left alone. Little Camerounian money is spent in attempting to control the flow of travellers between Chad and Nigeria; the only efforts made are to exact duties from lorries with cargoes. People are simply waved across the border.

The entry of the pilgrims into Chad is also scarcely recorded. Local movements are completely uncontrolled, and pilgrims can easily enter Chad by walking off the Chari ferry into Fort Lamy without visiting the border post at all. Some enumeration of these passing through Abeche was carried out, but seems to have been discontinued. On departing from the Republic of Chad for the Sudan, pilgrims are supposed to pass through a border check at Adre. At most the check consists of a head count of lorry passengers, but this is not effectively enforced, and any who desire to leave illegally can simply walk past the border post. There is no attempt to check travel documents, or international health certificates, nor any enforcement of the currency regulations.

The Sudanese are more conscientious in attempts to control travellers, mainly to enforce international quarantine and health regulations. But this zeal is self-defeating on such an open and uncontrolled border along which El Geneina is the only major post. Pilgrims simply avoid the quarantine if they fear they will be detained, or are not in possession of the necessary documents enabling legal entry.

The more complete records of pilgrims that are made in the Red Sea ports and Jiddah are no basis for assessing pilgrim movements along the savannas, because of the time lapse between a pilgrim entering the Nile Valley and actually visiting Mecca, which may amount to several years. Similarly, most pilgrims live a while in the Sudan on returning from Hijaz before setting off westwards along the savannas. Mather showed how great the disparities were between totals of pilgrims crossing various national borders along the savannas. His figures are quoted here because comparable figures for a more recent period are not available.

Nevertheless, figures from Sudan border posts have been used to build up a table showing the volumes of pilgrims passing through the country from 1909 to 1972 (Appendix II). It is of some value despite the obvious

Table I.
COMPARISONS OF PILGRIM NUMBERS CROSSING THE NIGERIAN
AND SUDANESE BORDERS, 1938-1944

	<i>Passports issued at Maidugari departures</i>	<i>Immigrants other than traders at El Geneina</i>	<i>No. of W. African pilgrims departing from Suakin</i>
1938	102	4,363	6,046
1939	86	3,830	4,217
1940	28	1,868	3,734
1941	77	1,021	1,818
1942	187	835	7,048
1943	453	995	5,336
1944	767	2,428	5,269

(After Mather, 1953; 137)

shortcomings, for factors to which the pilgrimage has responded are reflected in annual variations in numbers. From 1909 to 1913, Willis' figures refer to all pilgrims leaving Suakin, not only those from the West. The vast majority were from West Africa, though, for as Willis wrote: 'Over 90 per cent leaving Suakin are Fellata, or Takruris' (1926; 35). It is significant how numerically important West African pilgrims were in sailings from the Sudan; even in 1940 they amounted to 98 per cent. In fact, West Africans were even more predominant, because they used the route via Ethiopia almost exclusively. Numbers of West Africans leaving Massawa for Hijaz were considerable, and the decline leaving Suakin between 1913 and 1917 is a reflection of stricter Sudanese controls turning pilgrims towards the Ethiopian routes (at least 1,000 per annum still used this route in 1931). The increase in pilgrims passing through Suakin in 1937 — almost double the previous year's total — was caused by the Italians limiting pilgrim exits at Massawa.

The decline in numbers from 1909 to 1913 is a reflection of the reduction in those fleeing from Nigeria. Thus the exodus from West Africa — including at least 25,000 fleeing from northern Nigeria on its European occupation, (Latham and Thompson 1927, also quoted in Al Nagar, 1969; 239) — is shown by the large numbers of pilgrims in the earliest years of the century.

Willis does not explain slight variations from year to year. Mather attributes minor fluctuations of pilgrim numbers to 'the economics within the pilgrimage'; 1930 to 1932 was a period of bad harvests in West Africa, reflected, according to Mather, in the *small* numbers of pilgrims leaving from Suakin in the years 1933 to 1935 (Mather, 1953; 138). Field evidence suggests that hardship in West Africa is, in fact, a *stimulus* to pilgrimage, as in the 1913 famine in Hausaland. Pilgrim departures in the 1930s were reduced by increased steamer charges, and low incomes in the Gezira resulting from the cotton slump (Kassala Province Diaries, 1931; 1933).

A new lorry service opened in 1943 caused an increase in El Geneina quarantine figures to 1273. This was but a small variation for the war

years, however, when the flow of pilgrims was low: excepting 1942, the totals only rise above the 1938 figure in 1946. From 1950 onwards, the only obtainable chronologically complete set of figures relating to the pilgrimage are from the El Geneina quarantine. These illustrate the important change that has occurred over the past two decades—the decline in overland pilgrimage. This can also be seen in the available Suakin and Port Sudan figures, which fall from 27,000 sailings in 1956 to 7,000 in 1970. The disparity in El Geneina figures before and after 1953 is the result of a different system of enumeration. It seems that, prior to 1953, pilgrim certificates were only granted to pilgrims fulfilling stringent conditions, but would-be pilgrims could easily enter with local travel permits and so were not recorded. After that date, pilgrimage certificates were more easily granted, so that recorded numbers of pilgrims increased, giving a better picture of the volume of pilgrim travel.

Between 1955 and 1956, stringent new controls were imposed upon the passage of pilgrims by the newly independent Sudan, including a system of deposits, payable on entry at El Geneina. Many could not afford this, and were anyway reluctant to pay, because a deposit could only be reclaimed on the return westwards of the pilgrim, which would be some years in the future.

The reduction in the recorded passage of pilgrims does not represent a sudden fall in traffic, however. The drop in numbers recorded simply represents an increase in illegal movements. Pilgrims who would have entered legally under the old regulations began to avoid the quarantine station. This can be demonstrated by reference to figure for pilgrim passage through Abeche quoted by Works (1976; 84).

Pilgrims in Abeche Zongo 1953-62.

1953	11,564	1957-9	N.A.
1954	16,000	1960	5,882
1955	17,217	1961	16,008
1956	13,382	1962	7,056

It is important to realise that Works's figures are under-estimates, but they nevertheless indicate the scale of the numbers of the pilgrims in transit both eastwards and westwards through Abeche. If these figures for passage through Abeche are compared with those passing through El Geneina it is apparent that, although figures for entry into El Geneina halved in 1955/6, the numbers passing through Abeche were unaffected. If the real numbers of pilgrims followed the trend of the Abeche data, then a large increase in the numbers passing illegally through El Geneina must have occurred. No more detailed comparison than this between the two sets of figures should be attempted, because they suffer the problems of incompatibility demonstrated by Mather.

About 8,000 pilgrims entered the Sudan through the quarantine each year until, in 1961, the Saudi Arabian government banned West Africans from the pilgrimage because of the high incidence of relapsing fever in Africa at that time. The Sudan, in turn, closed its western border to incoming West Africans, although homeward-bound pilgrims were allowed

to proceed without any hindrance. The border remained closed for two years, but the flow of illegal entrants continued. Works's figures again illustrate this, for in 1961 and 1962 some 23,000 pilgrims were recorded in Abeche. About half of these must have been passing eastwards towards the Sudan, and passed across the border towards the Niles.

Although entry of pilgrims was forbidden, other travellers were allowed to enter and leave the Sudan. This enabled the development of an efficient system of smuggling pilgrims into the Sudan, which became so well established that, when the border was reopened in 1963/4, only 1,400 pilgrims passed eastwards through the quarantine, the rest continuing to enter illegally. Illegal entry into the Sudan had become the rule. Between 1964 and 1966, the border with Chad was again closed. This caused little inconvenience to pilgrims; the agents who had established the system of smuggling pilgrims eastwards enabled them to continue. Indeed, so efficient had the agents become, that with improvement of relations between Chad and Sudan and the consequent reopening of the border in 1967, only 55 pilgrims entered the Sudan through the border post. This was a tiny proportion of the total flow. Eighteen pilgrims were interviewed who entered the Sudan in 1967, all of them illegally. From 1967 to 1970, less than 500 pilgrims entered the Sudan legally; however real movements eastwards were probably in excess of 3,000 per annum.

Figures for pilgrims returning westwards through El Geneina quarantine give a more realistic picture of the scale of traffic. The average westward flow of 4,500 is a slight understatement, for some leave the Sudan illegally, though by no means as many as enter in that manner. The numbers moving westwards decline with the passage of time. The average for the years 1957 to 1960 is 6,000 and for 1967 to 1971, 3,300. The 1970 to 1971 figure of 4,906 represents an increase of about 60 per cent on the previous year. In fact, the increase was greater than this as a number left illegally because of new customs controls. The sudden increase in departures was in response to discrimination against West Africans in the Sudan. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the eastward flow of pilgrims was much affected by this.

IV The Origins and Demographic Characteristics of Pilgrims

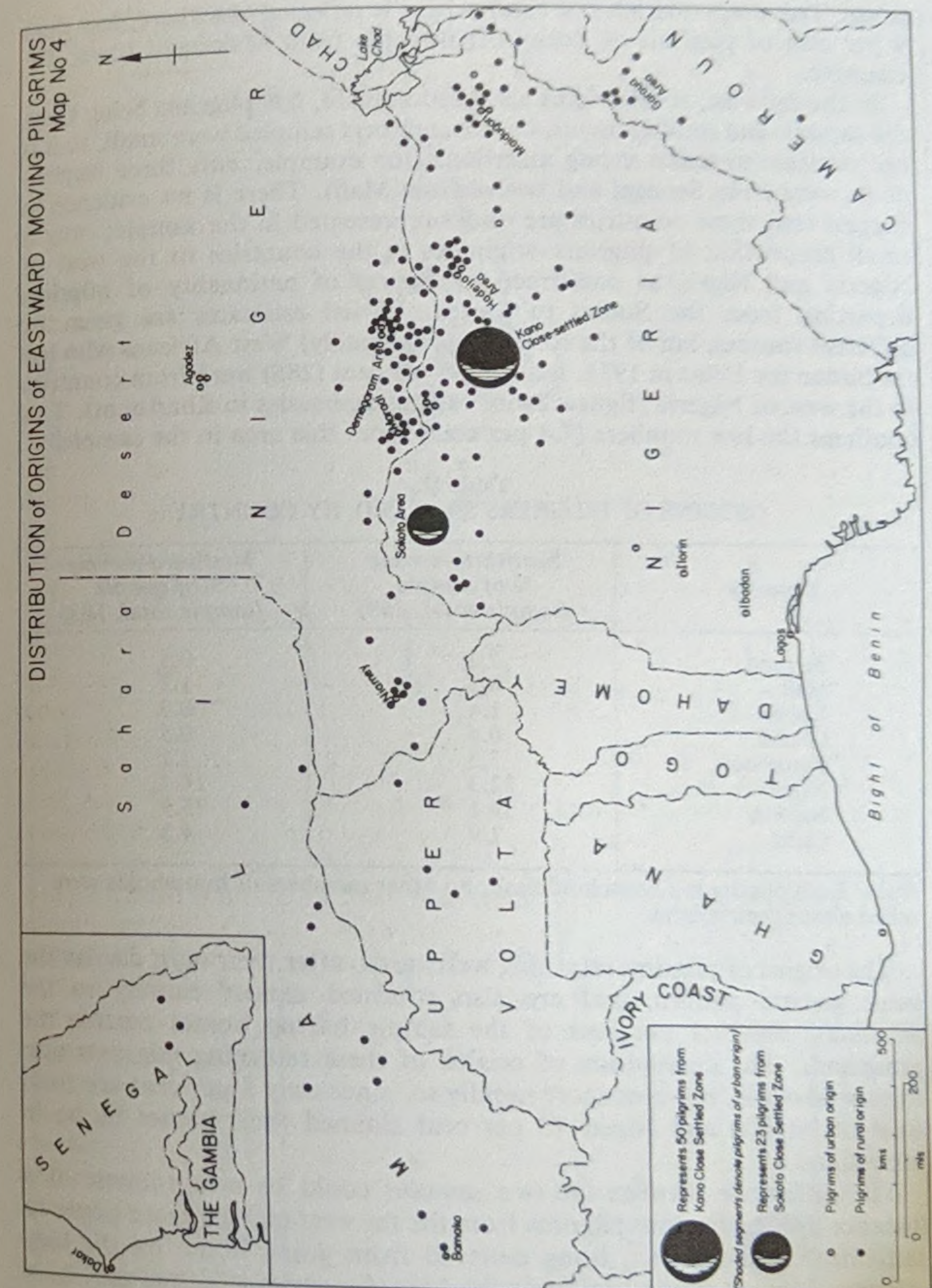
1. The origins of pilgrims

Maps 4, 5 and 6 show the origins of West African pilgrims interviewed whilst they were travelling through Darfur Province. Each 'pilgrim' is also a household head, so the distribution is one of families, as well as of individuals.

Household heads were asked about their origins using the concept of 'homeland' (*dar*); the area in which they and their extended family live. The migrants considered themselves strongly attached to their *dar*, and even after years resident in the Sudan, would think of West Africa as their 'home'.

The eastward moving pilgrims in the sample (Map 4), when interviewed, had been less than six months in the Sudan, and often less than a year away from home. They were mostly interviewed in Hausa, for they had not acquired proficiency in colloquial Arabic. All but 4.5 per cent of the sample of 269 eastward moving families originated within the 'grassland belt'. Furthermore, pilgrims from outside the savannas were all of tribes normally associated with the grasslands (mainly the Hausa), and were all urban dwellers, such as date traders from Agadez, and labourers from the markets of Ibadan and Lagos. It was carefully established that these pilgrims all had their homes in these towns, and were not migrant labourers giving their dry season residences (see Prothero, 1962). There are few pilgrims from areas in which Islam took root in colonial times, such as Yorubaland and southern Ghana, possibly because of a lack of tradition of pilgrimage there. A tendency to make pilgrimage by air might further explain their paucity in the sample. Pilgrims from, for example, southern Nigeria are unlikely to journey along the savannas anyway, because it means travelling through an unfamiliar social and physical environment, in which they are not generally welcomed.

Within the savannas, the distribution of origins of pilgrims thins and tapers westwards from Lake Chad. Seventy-nine per cent of the pilgrims came from northern Nigeria and southern Niger. In terms of traditional units, 62 per cent originated in Hausaland, mainly the Emirates of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Demegaram. This to some degree reflects population densities, but is also a result of a custom of overland pilgrimage in the Emirates. The remaining pilgrims also originated in old centres of government, particularly from Bornu, Adamawa and Hadeija and, to a lesser degree, Macina and the old Islamic centres of the Niger bend. Almost one half (47.7 per cent) of the pilgrims from Hausaland lived within the close-settled zones of Sokoto and Kano, but only a small minority of these (1.3 per cent and 8.8 per cent respectively) came from the actual urban



areas. This preponderance of rural origins is reflected elsewhere; less than 9 per cent of pilgrims of Bornu origin came from Maidugari town, for example.

In the far west, rural origins also predominate, few pilgrims being from the capitals and trading towns, but the numbers sampled were small, so it is not possible to make strong assertions (for example, only three respondents were from Senegal and twelve from Mali). There is no evidence to suggest that these countries are under-represented in the sample; only a small proportion of pilgrims originates in the countries to the west of Nigeria and Niger, as confirmed by figures of nationality of pilgrims departing from the Sudan to Mecca. Varied estimates are given by different sources, but of the 6,000 (approximately) West Africans who left the Sudan for Hijaz in 1971, less than 6 per cent (286) were from countries to the west of Nigeria (figures from various embassies in Khartoum). This confirms the low numbers (7.4 per cent) from this area in the sample.

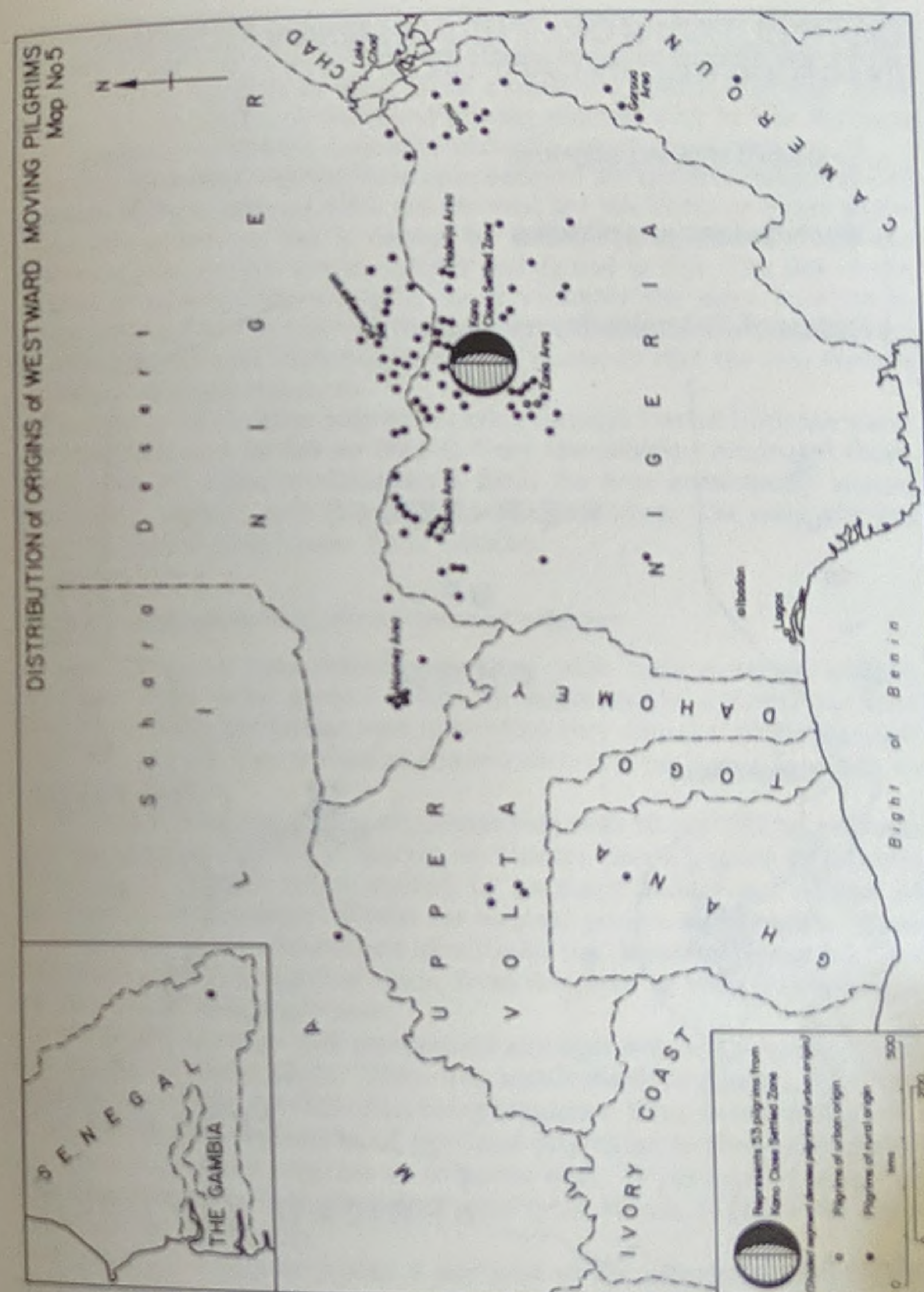
Table II.
ORIGINS OF PILGRIMS SAMPLED, BY COUNTRY

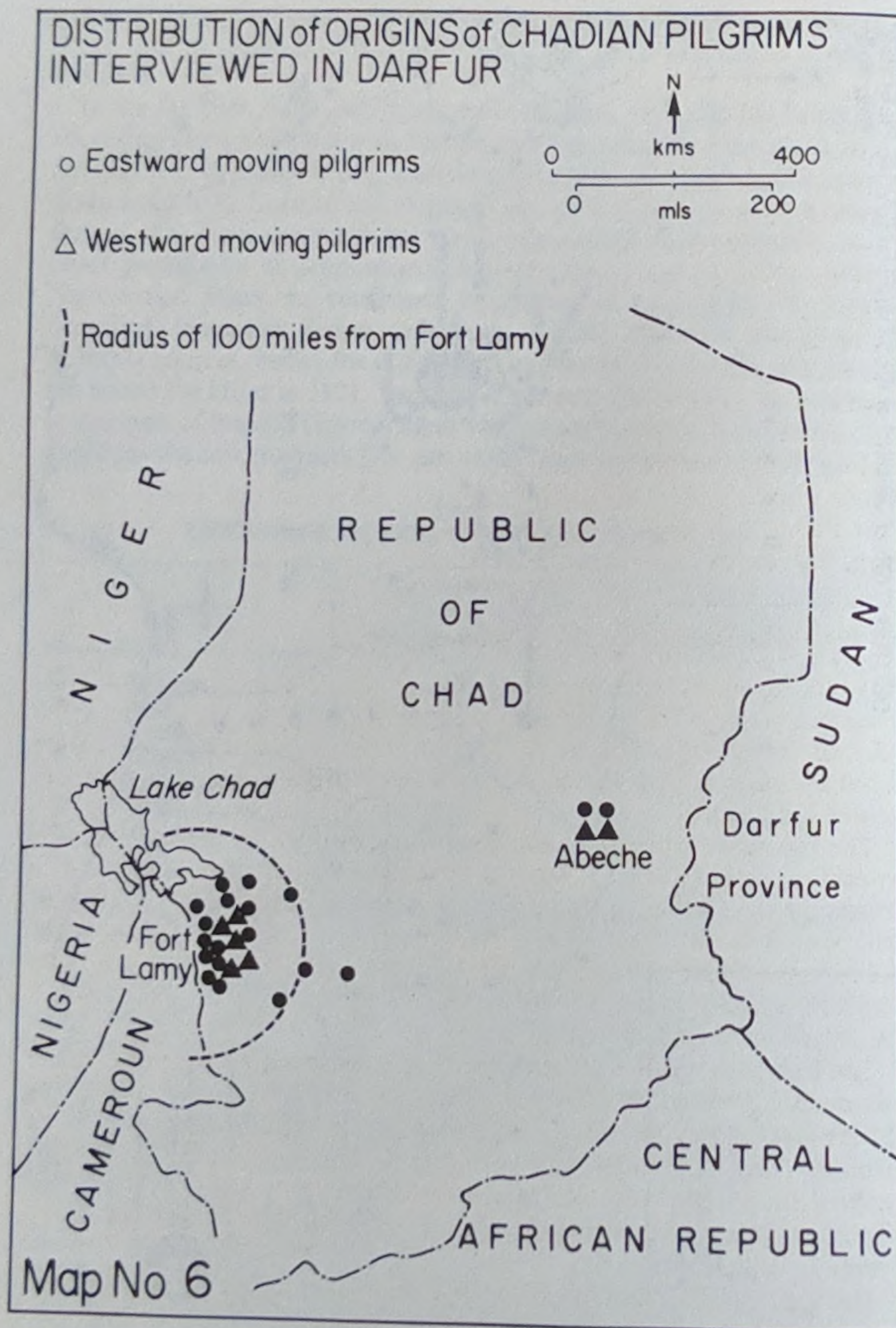
Country	Eastward-moving % of sample (sample total, 269)	Westward-moving % of sample (sample total, 183)
Senegal	1.1	0.5
Mali	4.5	1.1
Volta	1.4	0.7
Ghana	0.4	0.5
Cameroun	3.3	2.1
Niger	22.3	14.7
Nigeria	59.1	75.9
Chad	7.8	4.3

Note: Each pilgrim is a household head; no other members of households were asked about their origins

The origins of pilgrims returning westwards, after their *hajj*, display the same general pattern, and are also confined almost entirely to the savannas, only 1.1 per cent of the sample having homes outside the grasslands. The distribution of origins of these returning migrants also thins westwards, but even more rapidly so, since only 3 per cent are from west of Nigeria and Niger. 75 per cent claimed their homes to be in Hausaland.

The difference between the two samples could be symptomatic of a distance decay function: pilgrims from the far west may be more prone to settlement in the Sudan, being deterred from going home by the long journey. It is not prudent to assert this here, for various factors may have caused bias in this second sample. For example, although questions were asked of eastward moving pilgrims mainly in Hausa, respondents moving westwards were interviewed in Arabic. This may have led to errors, because pilgrims resident in the Sudan are aware of a geographic simplification of their homeland which is generally said to be 'Kano' in the Sudan, and may, when questioned in Arabic, have generalised their origins more





than the respondents questioned in Hausa. The tendency of returning pilgrims to associate themselves with Kano may also be endorsed by the desire to be thought of as being from a centre of Islamic learning. Thus origins of the sample of westward moving pilgrims may be less accurate since questions in Arabic may have elicited a conditioned response.

This is not to discount the difference between the samples completely. It may well be that pilgrims from the far west are less likely to return home after visiting Mecca, but it cannot be asserted with certainty that the difference between the two samples is mainly due to this. The plot of the origins of eastward moving pilgrims is probably the more accurate in giving a picture of the origins of the pilgrims passing through Darfur, and it is because of these differing degrees of accuracy that the two samples have been mapped separately.

The origins of Chadian pilgrims passing through Darfur both eastwards and westwards are shown on Map 6. Very few pilgrims originated there. Those who did came predominantly from the area immediately around Fort Lamy, though only three from within the town. The only pilgrims from the east of Chad came from Abeche.

2. Tribal composition of the samples of pilgrims

Answers given by respondents regarding tribe were accepted without question. They were given readily by migrants, in contrast to West Africans living in the Sudan who were often very reluctant to divulge their tribal affinities as they wished to conceal their origins. Again data refer to household heads.

The Hausa were predominant, comprising over 50 per cent of migrants in each direction. There is strictly no distinct Hausa tribe; it is rather a collection of similar tribes unified by language and a long history of interrelated development. Whilst the original groups of which the Hausa are composed are to some extent identifiable (i.e. Daura, Gobir, etc.), here they are considered together since, from the point of view of pilgrimage, the Hausa act as a single unit.

The Fulani are also well-represented amongst overland pilgrims. These are mainly Fulanin Gida. They are acculturised to Hausa ways, the difference between the two often being indistinct. Thus, better indication is given of Hausa domination of overland pilgrimage if Hausa and Fulani peoples are grouped together to comprise over 75 per cent of people on pilgrimage. Most of the sedentary Fulani speak Hausa, so this is the *lingua franca* of the pilgrimage.

The Kanuri comprise about 6 per cent of the sample. Their separate language keeps them apart from the Hausa-Fulani group of pilgrims. Difficulties in communication and differences in culture between Kanuri and Hausa mean that they are best considered separately. As Hausa and Fulani are closely integrated, so are Kanuri and Kanembo. The Kanembo tribe lives mainly along the south-western shores of Lake Chad and, although they have a language of their own, the Kanuri language is widely used. The small number of Kanembo and Kanuri in the sample is a

Table III.
TRIBAL COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE OF PILGRIMS, BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Tribe	Country of Origin and Direction of Movement across Darfur											
	Nigeria		Niger		Cameroun		Volta		Mali		Senegal	
	E	W	E	W	E	W	E	W	E	W	E	W
Hausa	55.9	71.7	73.3	63.5								
Fulani	23.9	15.8	10.0	9.6	2		1				1	
Kanuri	12.8	5.8	6.7	6.4			2		2		7	5
Kanembo	1.8	>1	>1	3.2							4	1
Bagirmi	>1			3.2								
Shuwa												
Wolof	1.3											
Malinke												
Busa	>1	>1								1		
Djerma			3.3	6.4								
Sereer			6.7	9.6								
Other and unknown	3.2	5.0						1			2	1

Note: Tribes from Nigeria and Niger are given in percentages. For other countries, absolute numbers are tabulated.

reflection of the limited size of the tribes, but they nevertheless have a distinctive system of pilgrimage separate from the Hausa. The Kanembo and Kanuri people are called 'Bornu' in the Sudan, the Arabic term for peoples from the Bornu area of Nigeria. Together these Bornu comprise about 8 per cent of pilgrims.

Other tribes contribute only very small numbers of pilgrims (Table III). These tribes largely comprise the traditional trading classes of West Africa, of influence in the initial spread of Islam; Malinka, Wolof and Djerma all feature, albeit in small numbers.

Over half the migrants who originated outside Hausaland were Hausa or Fulani. Hausa pilgrims of origins in Mali, Chad and Ghana were recorded in the samples. The Hausa have long been thought of as a mobile people who migrate readily for purposes of trade, and in search of work. This has resulted in their widespread dispersion over West Africa, where they live in the strangers' quarters of many of the larger towns. It would seem that even outside their heartland, the Hausa are still fired with the desire for pilgrimage, isolation from Kano doing little to dampen their religious zeal. The Fulani are also widely distributed, both as nomads and as sedentary people: the widespread origins of the Fulani pilgrims stem from this. Their religious zeal has been retained from the *Jihad* activity of the nineteenth century in which they took so active a part.

3. The size of pilgrim travelling units

Two aspects are involved in discussing the size of travelling unit of pilgrims: first, the size of each family that has decided to make the pilgrimage, i.e. the number of pilgrims that set off from an individual household; and second, the number of people in the groups in which the pilgrims actually travel. These may be comprised of several household units temporarily or permanently linked together.

It was difficult to establish the size of pilgrim families. The attempted seclusion of women and their reluctance to meet strangers made it impossible to talk to all adult members of many families. The difficulties of counting their children as they ran about a village or a lorry-park are obvious. Prolonged interrogation of pilgrim household heads as to the size of their families tended to cause consternation, because often some members were travelling illegally; usually, therefore, their estimates were accepted. Such data cannot be very accurate, because fathers rarely admit the correct sizes of their families (Culwick, 1954; First Population Census of the Sudan, Methods Report). Accurate details of family relationships within a group were also difficult to obtain, again because members of many families travelled illegally: for instance brothers pretended to be sons in order to be entered jointly on one passport, rather than buy several.

Most respondents were not pressed for more than general details of their families, the majority being grouped simply under seven categories of 'family status', which were chosen to represent possible different attitudes towards — and aspects of — migration resulting from the practical considerations of travelling with or without families.

Of pilgrims travelling eastwards 14 per cent were single. These were mainly young men, not yet married, who make the pilgrimage before family responsibilities cause more difficulties. This phenomenon is the result of a modern pragmatic attitude and is not in accordance with the traditional view that the best period of life in which to make the *hajj* is old age. A proportion of these single men are *faqis*, or holy men; usually elderly but unmarried, many have made previous pilgrimages to Mecca. They vary between the piously religious to the insane. These *faqi* pilgrimages tend to be different from the majority and often almost masochistic in execution, for these ascetics shun all modern and even animal transport.

Some of these single pilgrims are from the far western savannas, from Mali, Volta and Senegal. The extra distance does not prevent some families from setting off on pilgrimage, but discourages most; single men comprise 55 per cent of respondent pilgrims of origin to the west of Nigeria.

A slightly smaller proportion of single men was found in the sample of returning migrants. Whilst one must beware of conclusions drawn from comparisons of these samples, one can safely assume that the lower percentage of returning single men is largely the result of pilgrims marrying Sudanese women. About 3 per cent of men returning west had married in the Sudan, but probably a majority who married settled.

About one in twenty of the pilgrims interviewed had left their wives at home in contravention of the Muslim tenet that it is as important for women to make the pilgrimage as men. Most claimed that their wives had 'not wanted' to make the pilgrimage, or had been unable to because of family commitments. Two of these respondents said 'the road was too hard for a woman to travel'. Rather than physical discomforts, the indignities of ill-treatment by the Sudanese were alluded to. These two pilgrims claimed to be representative of a largish body of West African opinion which thought it was worth depriving one's wife of pilgrimage, in order to minimise the time spent in the Sudan. In any case, it is worth noting in passing that by no means all wives who accompany pilgrims into the Sudan visit Mecca, because of limited finances. These pilgrims who had left their wives behind tended to be in early middle age, and thought that it would be impossible for them to afford pilgrimage with their spouses, or by air. They set off overland because they thought it cheaper than by air, rather than spiritually superior.

About two-thirds of interviewees were travelling with their immediate families; the desire for all the family to visit Mecca had caused many of these to make overland pilgrimage rather than fly. Many household heads have enough money for one return plane ticket to Jiddah when they depart on overland pilgrimage with their families (see p.75). Most of these set off with all their wives, but rarely all the children. Some are usually left behind with relations, or given to *faqis* as *muhajariya*, to be educated in the Koran. Children are taken on pilgrimage specifically to earn money, by begging if nothing else. Those who prove too much of a burden may be left *en route*. Commonly one other relative — a brother, father or uncle of the household head — accompanies such families. It is often an elderly parent of the household head who is the driving force behind the pilgrimage, which is

made at their request. Household heads were usually middle aged, and the family typically comprised about five people.

About one-tenth of respondent pilgrims had left behind a wife or the majority of their children. Such a division of the family was made to enable life at home to go on normally, run by stay-at-home sons and wives, whilst the household head made the pilgrimage.

The extended family is most commonly brought on pilgrimage by the Fulani, usually nomads who leave their cattle at home, and make pilgrimage by lorry, like the agriculturalists (Birks, 1977). One group of Fulani comprised over thirty people in an extended family, but numbers of around a dozen were more common.

Apart from these different types of family group, a few women make the pilgrimage on their own, usually as beggars or prostitutes. That the desire for pilgrimage can be as strong in women as in men was demonstrated by a blind woman and her illegitimate daughter who walked from Fort Lamy into Darfur Province. Normally such women travelled with male relatives.

4. Sex Ratios of Pilgrims

The predominance of the family unit is reflected in the sex ratios of pilgrims. It has been asserted that amongst pilgrims there is a large excess of men (Mather, 1953; 140). This was found not to be true. Totals of pilgrims passing through El Geneina quarantine in 1971 were comprised of 36.9 per cent men, 36.6 per cent women and 26.4 per cent children. The sex ratio was 101, indicating only a slight excess of males. Never was a group of pilgrims found that consisted entirely, or almost entirely of men. The sex ratio of pilgrims passing through the quarantine may, however, be slightly biased by the fact that more men than women leave the Sudan illegally, avoiding the quarantine: the error is not large though.

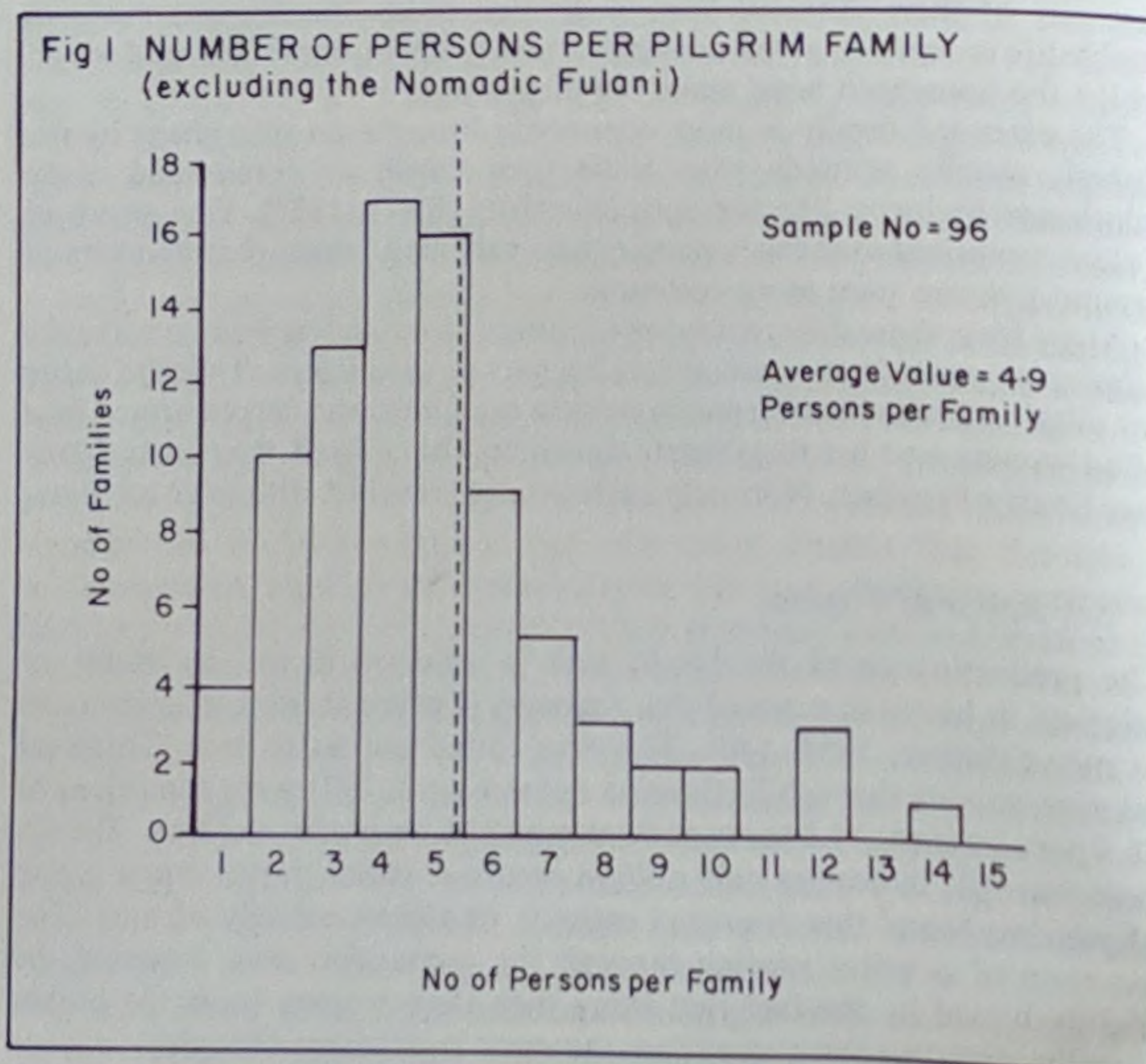
5. Size of Pilgrim Families

Numerical details of the families of a separate sample of eighty-one pilgrims were recorded. These are summarised in Figure 1. If the very large atypical Fulani extended families are excluded, the average number of people in a family unit making the pilgrimage was 4.9. This is slightly smaller than the mean size of settled West African families in the Sudan — determined in a census of West Africans in Darfur (p.92) — in consequence of some members of households being left at home by pilgrims. Of this sample, only four pilgrims were travelling alone, whilst over 50 per cent were household heads whose family groups number between three and five persons.

Thus pilgrims are not so predominantly male as has been implied in the past. They have a balanced sex ratio and, because of the custom of taking both the old and the young on pilgrimage, an age structure that is probably not too dissimilar from sedentary communities of West Africans.

The migrants who are almost exclusively male are the labourers from Chad, although refugees from Chad have a more balanced sex ratio. It is a

failure to distinguish between the various types of migrant entering the Sudan in the past that has led to the belief that few pilgrims are female.



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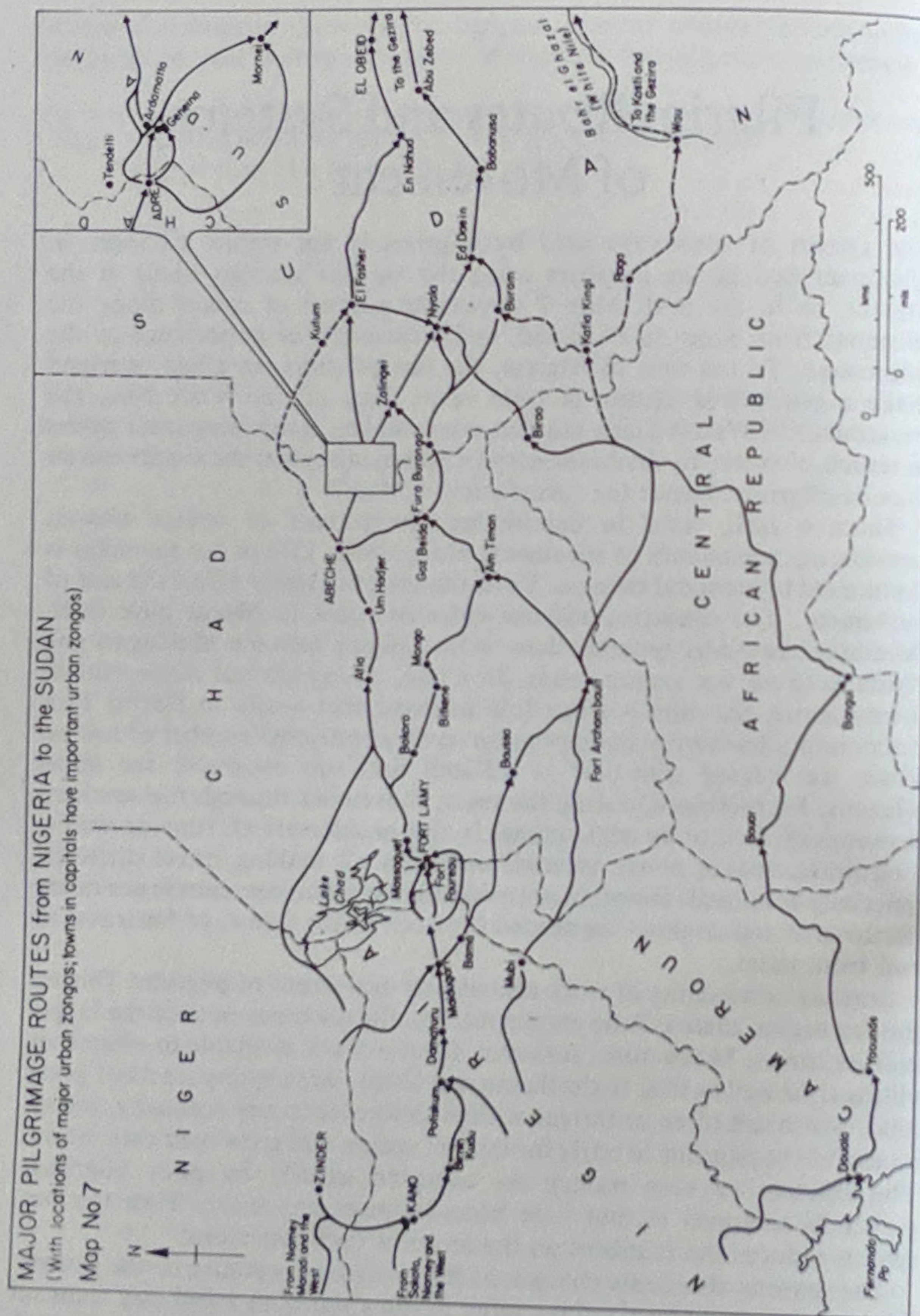
Pilgrim Routes and Systems of Movement

The system of routeways used by pilgrims is not stable. Changes in alignment and in the numbers using the various sections occur at the present, as in the past. Map 7 shows the pattern of routes along the savannas from Kano to El Obeid, and settlements of importance to the pilgrimage. To the west of Nigeria, the few pilgrims travelling overland make a generalised picture of little value. East of the White Nile, the movements of West African pilgrims are complex, comprising local moves in search of work. In short, the eastern Sudan is beyond the simple transit area of pilgrims. Hence the boundaries of Map 7.

There is little value in considering the pattern of routes without considering seasonality of movement along them. Life in the savannas is dominated by seasonal changes. First, the seasons greatly affect the east of movement. The countries pilgrims cross *en route* to Mecca have little-developed transport systems: there is no railway between Maidugari and Nyala, and no wet season roads. In Chad, trucks do not move outside towns during the rains — from July to September — and in Darfur Province, only a few lorries manage to travel on a restricted number of routes. Thus, wet season transport is difficult and too expensive for many pilgrims. Furthermore, during the rains, movement through the southern savannas on foot or by pack animal is also problematical, running wadis, long grass, snakes above ground, and flies all making travel difficult, especially as animals are often not available for transport: camels are taken northwards and donkeys are needed for work on the farms, or for travel to and from them.

Seasonal availability of work also affects movement of pilgrims. During the dry season there is little employment in the savannas outside the larger market towns. In the rains, however, farm work is available in almost all villages. As well as this, in the Sudan and Chad, large empty tracts of good land, which can often be farmed without reference to any authority, are an incentive for pilgrims to settle for the wet season and grow their own crops. The chances to earn money are accepted eagerly by poor pilgrims, especially as travel at that time becomes more expensive. Thus the wet season reduces the numbers on the move in both directions.

The seasons also cause changes in the relative importance of the routes. Pilgrims may be obliged to take more devious routes to avoid clay areas or large wadis. Different paths may also seem attractive in the wet season if they pass through areas in which cash crop production is important, and where labour is in demand. The impact of the seasons on volume of movement and routes used by pilgrims is studied below in detail with reference to Darfur Province. Maps 8 and 12 show the form of dry season flows of pilgrims along the savannas in both directions.



Difficulties in determining the relative flows of pilgrims along the various routes mean that these maps are only a generalised portrayal. It was impossible to sample pilgrims on all the routes throughout the field period, so routes were ranked in importance according to a pilot survey, and sampling time apportioned accordingly. This guide to sampling was amended as field work progressed, according to observations of numbers using the various routes.

1. The eastward flow of pilgrims

Pilgrims from west of Nigeria and from central Niger converge upon Kano, where they are joined by others from Sokoto and north-west Nigeria. Those from eastern Demegaram pass through Maidugari, whilst a small number, less than 1 per cent of the total of eastward moving pilgrims, travel around the north of Lake Chad, entering Chad without passing through Nigeria. These latter two streams are kept small by the reputation gained by Kano as a centre of pilgrimage activity, and by the good road communications between Kano and north-eastern Nigeria used by most of the pilgrims.

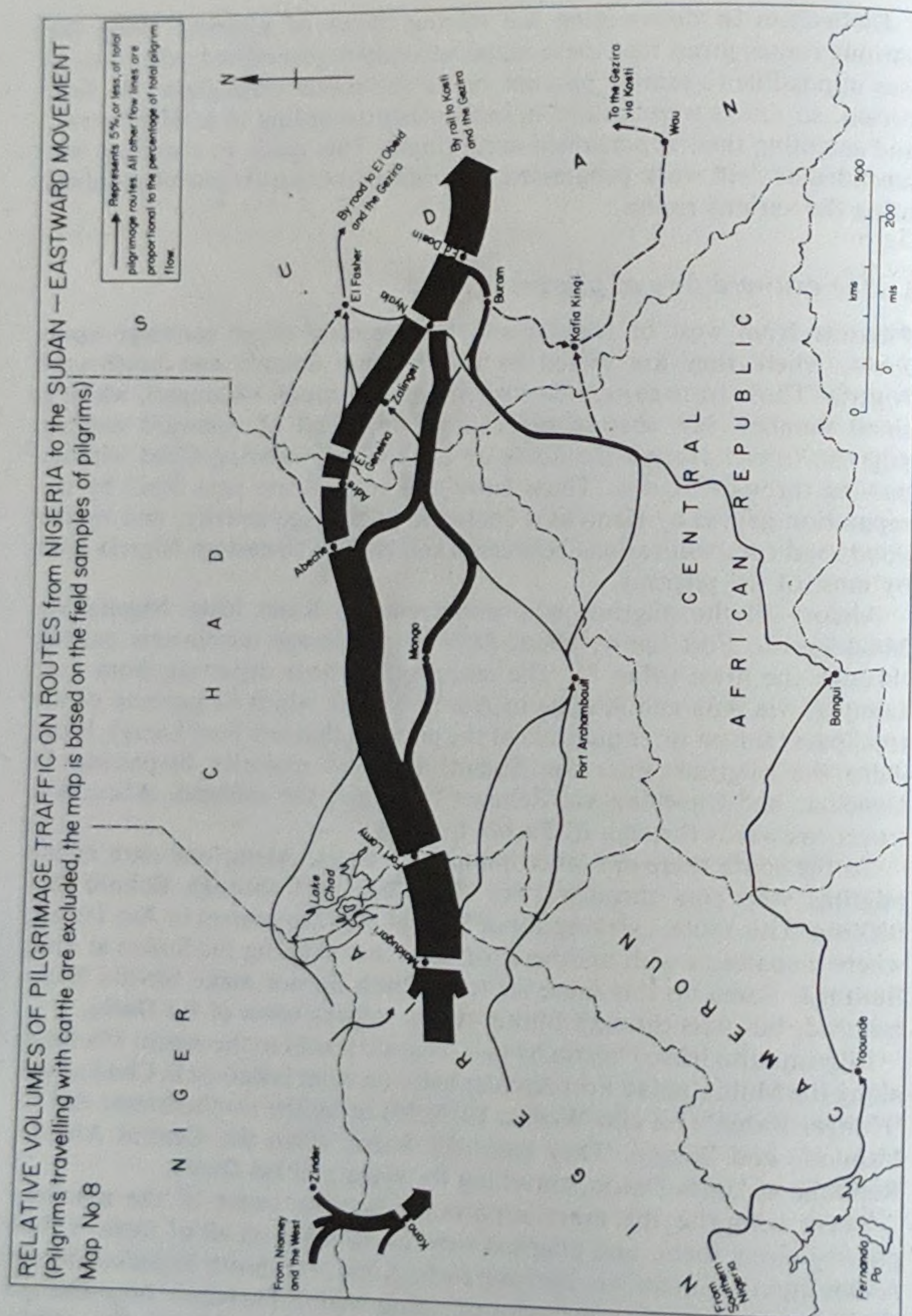
Almost all the pilgrims who congregate in Kano leave Nigeria via Maidugari to Fort Lamy, about 88% of pilgrimage movements passing through the town (Map 8). The majority of those departing from Fort Lamy go via Atia and Abeche to Adre, through which 62 per cent of the total pass (almost three quarters of the pilgrims that left Fort Lamy). From Adre the pilgrims enter the Sudan, the vast majority by-passing El Geneina, and travelling via Zalingei to Nyala, the railhead. About 4% travel eastwards through El Fasher by lorry.

To the south there are other important routes. About one-sixth of the pilgrims who pass through Fort Lamy bear off through Bokoro and Bitkene. This route, carrying about 14% of pilgrims, passes to Am Timan, where it coalesces with another from Abeche, entering the Sudan at Fura Buranga. Some on this more southerly path do not make for the Nyala railhead, but pass through Buram to the railway town of Ed Daein.

Pilgrims also leave Nigeria by two separate routes to the south: 8% leave along the Mubi road to Fort Archambault on what is known in Chad as the 'Hanyar Rabi' (see also Works, 1976; 26) or by the southernmost exit to Yaounde and Bangui. They enter the Sudan from the Central African Republic at Umm Dafoq, travelling to Nyala and Ed Daein.

These comprise the most important routes in terms of the numbers passing along them, and pilgrims were interviewed on all of them. Other routes into the Sudan, via Tini and Kafia Kingi, are shown in pecked form, since no pilgrims were enumerated along them. Travellers may change from one route to another, making the apparently simple pattern within Darfur Province, converging on the railway, far more complex.

Although this pattern is generalised, it does show certain important features of pilgrim travel. For instance, its illegality is reflected in the fanning out along varied paths at border crossings. The route pattern is not, however, simply a consequence of an aggregate of individual pilgrims'



decisions. It is dependent upon a system, an infrastructure of movement, that has developed to facilitate travel along the savannas.

2. The system of movement of eastward moving pilgrims

This section details the means by which pilgrims travel, and is limited to the eastward flow of pilgrims, since the mechanism of movement of returning pilgrims is contrasting, and described later. Discussion is centred on the dry season, when most movement takes place.

Movement along the western savannas and across northern Nigeria West of Kano, pilgrim movement comprises only a tiny part of a whole complex of mobility, from which it cannot be distinguished, and so has not attracted the attention of agents or governments hoping to profit from — or control — pilgrims. To the east of Kano, however, a contrasting situation exists.

It is in Kano that numbers on pilgrimage become large enough to be a commercial proposition, and where the westernmost agents dealing in the overland transport of pilgrims can be found. The agents deal mainly in the housing of pilgrims temporarily staying there. Kano is a town in which money can easily be earned, so pilgrims have little trouble in paying a fare and reaching Maidugari by bus. There is no legal obstacle to a Nigerian making this journey. Pilgrims from further west often speak Hausa, do not look out of place, and so travel as though they were Nigerians. At this stage few have recourse to the transport offered by professional pilgrimage agents.

The departure from Nigeria: The Zongo In Maidugari the pilgrims' first documentation problem arises with the Passport Office dealing with the Nigerian-Camerounian border.

The Maidugari Office was authorised to issue passports to all Nigerian pilgrims, but in 1961 documents for pilgrimage were discontinued because of an agreement between Nigeria and the Sudan to discourage movement overland. However, the office at Maidugari also issued travel certificates valid for transit across Cameroun and entry into Chad, so when passports were made difficult to obtain, pilgrims simply applied for travel certificates and so left Nigeria for Chad quickly and easily. Thereafter, they proceeded eastwards illegally.

Pilgrims continued to leave Nigeria with documents valid only for Chad until October 1970, when the Sudan, concerned at an outbreak of Cholera in the central savannas, closed the Sudan-Chad border to incoming pilgrims. Aware of the illegal passage of Nigerians bearing travel certificates from Maidugari, the Sudan Government appealed to Lagos to restrict their issue, and Nigeria responded. However, the flow of pilgrims did not cease. A new pattern developed which prevailed through the field period; many pilgrims began leaving Nigeria without any documents at all.

Delay caused to pilgrims waiting for or unable to obtain documents is a factor beneficial to the activities of agents involved in various, mostly

illegal, methods of speeding up the journey to Mecca. Whilst waiting for permits or preparing for an illegal exit from Nigeria, pilgrims live in an untidy village with few permanent residents, on the outskirts of Maidugari town. This village is a *zongo*. Such *zongos* are provided for pilgrims, or have been developed by them, at suitable intervals all along the route from West Africa to Mecca. They are fundamental to the system used on the journey along the savannas.

Zongo, a word of Hausa origin, is in common use in West Africa, meaning the 'strangers' quarter' of the town. Levtzion defines *zongo* in this fashion, saying that it originates from the term *zango*, a camping-place of a trading-caravan (1968: 16). *Zangos* were rarely inside a settlement, since it was in isolation from the indigenous people, tempered by negotiations with their chiefs, that traders found security. These camps were not inhabited by any particular tribe, but the migratory and trading propensity of the Hausa had led to their being associated with *zangos*. Cohen defines the *zongo* in Ibadan as 'the native strangers' quarter, which is predominantly Hausa occupied' (1965: 8-9). There is also historical precedence for this association of Hausa, rather than other tribes, with *zongos*. Levtzion quotes from Clapperton, who noted that although Bornu merchants stayed inside Nupe towns, the Hausa camped outside in temporary shelters (Clapperton, 1829: 137-138, in Levtzion, 1968: 23). Cary describes a *zongo* as a resting place for travellers, similar to those existing along the pilgrimage routes. (1947: 93).

Today, in the eastern and central savannas, the *zongo* has come to be associated almost exclusively with the pilgrimage. The term has several shades of meaning: the Sudanese use it generally, to mean a village, or quarter, inhabited by persons of West African extraction. Hausa speakers rarely use the term in this sense, thinking of a *zongo* as that part of a village specifically set aside for temporarily resident pilgrims journeying to and from Mecca; that there should be permanent residents in a *zongo* is a contradiction in terms to a Hausa-speaker in the Sudan. A Hausa uses *hilla* or *zariba* to refer to a West African village as a whole. Works (1976) defines the historical usage of *zongo* (or '*zango*' as he writes it) as meaning the original compound in which the first settlers lived. This he distinguishes from *zariba* — the main village or quarter in which the Hausa live today. The *zariba* may or may not include a *zango*, the modern-day usage of which Works defines as the place where the transient element of the population lives.

Here, *zongo* is used in its strictest sense, to mean a group of huts not permanently occupied, which are specifically for the use of pilgrims breaking their journey. Each *zongo* is under the charge of a *sarkin zongo* (literally 'chief of the *zongo*' (Hausa)), — one of the professional agents who aids pilgrims on their journey. Some *sarkin zongos* establish their *zongos* deliberately, attracting pilgrims either as a benefactor, or simply in order to make a profit. Other *zongos* occur spontaneously, since the pilgrims are naturally gregarious, especially as they move eastwards and become confronted with an increasingly alien society with which they cannot and do not wish to integrate. Pilgrims in *zongos* benefit from

exchanges of information, recuperation after the hardships of travel, and a familiar cultural milieu.

The *zongo* at Maidugari is said to have been established spontaneously by pilgrims in the late 1940s, when the number travelling eastwards by lorry was increasing rapidly. Both the site and the size have varied since its establishment, and a second *zongo* has from time to time been established and then abandoned. Few pilgrims pass through Maidugari without residing for a period in the *zongo*, and it is there that they go on arriving. The length of time that a pilgrim resides there is dependent upon the time taken to secure the necessary documents, or the amount of money he has to offer the agents. Some pilgrims live there for several months, often farming during the wet seasons.

Whilst resident in the *zongo*, pilgrims are approached by several agents of different specialities. There are scribes who fill in application forms for travel documents, submit the forms to the passport office and ensure their quick return. Others forge inoculation certificates. Some lend money: loans can be repaid in Fort Lamy, where it is easier for pilgrims to earn.

If they acquire travel documents enabling legal entry into Chad, the pilgrims approach an agent (*sarkin motar tashar*, or *yan kamashe* (Hausa), or *kamusanji* (Arabic dialect)), who arranges lorry transport for them to either Fort Lamy or Abeche depending upon their finances. This is done on terms supposedly very favourable to the pilgrims, since the *kamusanji* arranges them in lorry-loads (about forty to sixty adults), for which he can then hire a lorry cheaply. Therefore a fare paid to a *kamusanji* under these conditions ought in principle to be cheaper than a fare paid at the roadside direct to a lorry owner, but often is not.

Such agents work all along the pilgrimage route, and have the effect of regularising the flow of pilgrims, in the sense that each agent sends the pilgrims to the next *zongo* eastwards along the route. It becomes increasingly difficult for pilgrims to arrange their own transport as they travel eastwards.

Between Maidugari and Abeche, these agents act within the law. Most pilgrims on their lorries have permits to travel in Chad. The agent's representative normally travels on the vehicle, and, holding all the pilgrims' documents, negotiates with border police and customs on their behalf to speed up the journey; in this way lorry-loads are often cleared without the officers even having seen the travellers. This easing of the workload is very popular with officials, so the system of *zongo* agents is encouraged by the Camerounian and Chadian border authorities.

Crossing borders by lorry is expensive, and documents are necessary, so this straightforward means of travel is not available to the many poor pilgrims. For these another system of border crossing, also run by agents, has long been in existence.

Many pilgrims lack documents because they cannot afford them, their real cost being more than the money paid over the counter for them because of the waiting involved. Others have no legal grounds to gain them *en route*. Some are simply impatient. A few of the better-off are engaged in illicit trade, such as perfume smuggling, and so cannot leave legally. Since

October 1970, when temporary travel certificates were made harder to obtain, only being issued against proof of relatives or business in Chad, an increased proportion of pilgrims has resorted to illegal exits from Nigeria.

It is easy to cross into Cameroun illegally. At Ngala, the boundary runs along the River Amganba, which is crossed by a bridge between the two border posts. Pilgrims can simply walk over at night when the guard on the bridge is lax. Others pass through to marshes to Cameroun by dug-out canoe. Pilgrims cross Cameroun easily, since very little care is taken by the Cameroun Government to control transit in this remote part of the country, and several lorries make the trip to Fort Fourreau every day.

Pilgrims crossing the Ngala bridge in this clandestine fashion are not in the hands of agents, but only constitute a minority of illegal exits. Professional agents guide pilgrims into Chad avoiding all contacts with the authorities, using two routes bearing south-east from Dikwa (see Map 7). Lorries take others from Maidugari to the border area, where guides may be provided to lead them to Fort Lamy. If all goes well, Fort Lamy is a day's walk from the Nigerian border. The crossing of the Rivers Chari and Logone into Chad presents no problem; the local river-bank dwellers supplement their incomes by acting as ferrymen. Some pilgrims enter Chad by ferries that land in Fort Lamy, but the more cautious cross the river to the south, and walk along the bank to the town.

The small number of pilgrims who enter Chad around the north of Lake Chad do so quite independently of agents. This is a route upon which camels are necessary, and those in the sample who travelled it were all camel owners from Niger. This movement is not a result of the routes being displaced northwards to avoid border controls, but a reflection of the different assets of the pilgrims from the desert fringe.

Trans-Chad pilgrim movement It is in Chad that the *zongo* system is at its most formalised. The police and immigration authorities, though aware of the illegal transit of pilgrims across Chad, take no deterrent action. Indeed, the *zongo* system is tacitly encouraged by the authorities, because without it they would have to take more action to control the movements of pilgrims. The profits accruing from *zongo* activities, together with the stamp of government approval, have made *sarkin zongos* (often also important leaders in other spheres of life), people of considerable importance in Chad, and some are in charge of large, ostentatious, brick, purpose-built *zongos*.

The *zongos** in Fort Lamy accommodate almost all pilgrims passing through the town. Many stop for some time to earn money for further stages of the journey, opportunities to earn in other parts of Chad being rare and unremunerative. The *zongos* are situated in the Hausa quarters: near the market, on the eastern fringes of the town, and near the airport (Works, 1976; 93-4); (in so far as ethnic quarters can be identified in Fort Lamy; the Hausa tend to be dispersed in a way similar to those living in El Fasher, see below p.119). It is to one of these *zongos* that pilgrims are

*Chapter 3 in Works's Book (1976) gives more detail of the *zongos* in Fort Lamy, with descriptions of life there and the personalities involved.

taken directly on arrival, usually by guides who have arrangements with a specific *sarkin zongo*. Those who arrive without a guide ask for directions to *zongos*, which are much the most convenient places for them to stay in Fort Lamy.

The *sarki* of the *zongo* in which pilgrims have been staying expects to arrange transport further eastwards for them when the pilgrims wish to move on. He includes a commission, a further return for having them in his *zongo*, as they pay only a nominal rent. From Fort Lamy, the majority of pilgrims travel directly to Abeche by lorry; it is here that the grandest *zongo* along the pilgrimage route is to be found.* This is a huge purpose-built structure, conveniently sited on the outskirts of the town by the Fort Lamy road. Completed in about 1950, this *zongo* looks from the outside like a large open mosque, being a balustraded wall of mud brick enclosing an area about half the size of a football pitch. The inner area is divided into several courtyards by walls lined with small rooms of mud brick, built into arcades. The courtyards themselves are filled with straw shelters, protecting sleepers from the hot sun and cold nights. Generally men sleep in the shelters and women in the mud cubicles. The *zongo* has a well, but in spite of the cramped conditions, there are only meagre toilet facilities. Should an epidemic break out in a full *zongo*, the consequences would be appalling. The structure is constantly being repaired and extended by pilgrims who work on the fabric of the *zongo* rather than pay cash for the privilege of sleeping there.

That such large buildings are necessary may seem surprising, but they have on several occasions been so full that the doors have had to be closed (see p.26). The Abecho *zongo* is of such large capacity because pilgrims tend to live there for quite long periods, so numbers build up. Pilgrims who wish to stay for a spell are often reluctant to move into the Hausa quarter. Some stay in Abeche to learn from *faqis*, who also stay in the *zongos*, but many pilgrims delay because they are impecunious; it takes longer for a pilgrim to save funds in Abeche than in Fort Lamy. Any excess capacity in the *zongos*, which are nearly empty in the wet season, is no liability: they were built free, by pilgrim labour, and in any case the sheer size of the structure does much to spread the fame of the *sarkin zongo*.

Other pilgrim accommodation is available in the main Hausa quarter, known as the Zariba Babalay, or simply Zariba Hausa (see also Works, 1976; 43), some of which is, at various times, given over to temporarily resident pilgrim population.

From Abeche, most pilgrims are taken by lorry to Adre, where another smaller *zongo* of similar courtyard pattern to the Abeche *zongo* is situated slightly to the east of the town, on a low hill overlooking the border post. In the absence of a substantial trade in goods to the east of Abeche, the transportation of pilgrims (and migrant labourers) has attained great importance, and the *sarkin zongos* hold a virtual monopoly. They can thus vary charges as they please. This has the advantage that poor pilgrims' travel can be subsidised by others with more money, and even occasionally

*See Works (1976) Chapter 2 for more detail about the Abeche *zongo* and the personalities involved.

be given free. The overall result, however, is an excessive profit to the *sarkin zongos*, whilst at the same time they gain a reputation for giving charity (see also Works, 1976: 94).

The *zongo* system is likely to continue to be well patronised in Chad as long as road transport facilities are so poor. It is problematical for pilgrims to cross Chad by lorry without recourse to facilities offered by *sarkin zongos*. Indeed, east of Abeche, it may be difficult for a pilgrim to board a truck without booking a place through a *sarki*.

However, not all pilgrims use the direct route dominated by *sarkin zongos*. The system of being passed from one agent to another is repugnant to some pilgrims, and too costly for others. These use the more southerly routes across Chad, through Birkene and Mongo, along sections of the Hanyar Rabihi (Maps 7 and 8). Only western sections are usually travelled by lorry. There are *zongos* in Birkene, Bokoro, Mongo and other towns along the route, but they are dissimilar to the *zongos* on the direct route, being small and poor, giving little but shelter.

Pilgrims travelling this route walk most of the way; in any case, road transport is scarce beyond Mongo. Most walk because it is cheaper, and because those travelling on foot to Mecca get given more charity and are less worried by the banditry of the area. It is much easier to walk this southern route than the direct one because of more frequent villages and water supplies, and so most pedestrian pilgrims pass along it.

There is a tendency for different tribes to use certain routes. Whilst on the northern, direct route over two-thirds of the pilgrims are Hausa, this group comprises less than one-half of those on the southerly track. In contrast, the Kanuri, less than one-tenth of travellers on the direct route, amount to almost one-third of those passing across the south.

Larger proportions of Kanuri and Fulani pilgrims use the southern route because it passes through areas of Chad which have large indigenous populations of these tribes. Some stay with relatives, others are attracted southwards by the use of tribal languages. As the *lingua franca* of the *zongos* on the direct route is Hausa, which many Kanuri and Fulani do not speak, these *zongos*, which are so attractive to the Hausa, hold less for the minority tribes.

The Sudan-Chad border: the entry of the pilgrims into the Sudan During the field period, all pilgrims entering the Sudan from Chad did so illegally because of the September Decree of the Sudan Government closing the border. After arriving at Adre by truck along the direct route, pilgrims have to enter the Sudan on foot, or by pack animal, as lorries to El Geneina have to pass through the border post. Entry of pilgrims to the Sudan is almost entirely in the hands of agents, providing varied services, according to what each traveller can pay.

The wealthier pilgrims, those who use lorries all along the route, and who have enough money to reach the Nile valley without long delays in order to earn money, will be considered first. These normally pay at Abeche for transport to Adre and entry into the Sudan. The lorry that brings them from Abeche goes directly to the Adre border post, where their

baggage is checked for weapons and taxable exports. The lorry then departs empty for El Geneina, without the pilgrims, except for those such as the elderly who have difficulty in walking. They are taken towards El Geneina, and dismount where donkeys are for hire to take them into the town by a route avoiding the border post. The lorry enters the post, completely empty of passengers, and is cleared to go into El Geneina, ostensibly in order to look for a return load to Adre. The driver then informs *sarkin zongos* in El Geneina of the arrival of the pilgrims at the border.

Meanwhile, the pilgrims left at Adre have been provided with camels to take them into the Sudan. They mount up, often watched by Chadian border guards, and ride northwards from Adre towards Tendelti (Map 7), entering the Sudan by crossing the Wadi Asunga, and continuing northwards to where the El Geneina-Tendelti road passes near the border. At a small farm the pilgrims dismount, and the camels are taken back to Adre. This is a *zongo*, but a great contrast to those in Chad. It is merely a group of scattered huts in an ill-kept clearing in which some millet is grown. The *zongo* resembles a bush farm and labourer's hut (*gidan gona* — Hausa).

The pilgrims wait to be collected by a lorry-owner who runs a regular service between El Geneina and Tendelti. This service is merely a cover for carrying pilgrims, which he finds far more remunerative than any general trading. The lorry travels out to Tendelti without stopping, and on the return trip the driver introduces himself to the pilgrims as the *sarkin zongo*. He then tells them the fare for being taken further into the Sudan. The payment made in Abeche does not entitle pilgrims to transport beyond this *zongo*, though this is often not made clear by *sarkin zongos* in Chad.

The agent takes the fares before the pilgrims board his lorry. These fares can be considerable, for the pilgrims are now illegal immigrants to the Sudan, liable to imprisonment and deportation, which makes it difficult for them to arrange their own transport: they have become entirely dependent upon the agent, a situation which *sarkin zongos* in El Geneina exploit to the utmost. The pilgrims get off the truck before it enters El Geneina and are left with a guide who leads them, on foot, to the edge of the track leading to Nyala or El Fasher, where they rest in the bush waiting for their next lorry.

The *sarkin zongo* parks in the lorry park, and informs other drivers leaving for the east that he has a number of '*jidad al wadi*' (guinea-fowl) to sell. This is the term used by drivers to refer to pilgrims waiting by the roadside in the bush — illegal passengers, for whom the fare is high. The *sarkin zongo* completes his part in the transaction by accepting the lowest offer that a driver makes to take the '*jidad al wadi*', and pays him their fares out of the money he collected in the rural *zongo*, the balance being his profit. The pilgrims' new driver is told where along the track they will be found. Few drivers refuse to take pilgrims eastwards from El Geneina despite its being illegal, because there is little eastward moving cargo to take from El Geneina: the alternative to an illegal load of pilgrims is usually an empty lorry. After having the lorry searched by the police on leaving El Geneina the driver looks for the pilgrims' guide sitting by the

road. When he sees him, he stops and the pilgrims are called from the bush, where they have been hiding in case a police patrol should pass along the road. They then board the lorry and travel on to Nyala.

Only the wealthiest pilgrims enter the Sudan in this way, which involves so little hardship compared to other routes by which most cross the border. Furthermore, some who could afford to travel in such relative luxury do not do so because many who have entered the Sudan by this expensive method have fallen prey to thieves and cheats, quite apart from paying the exorbitant fares demanded by the agents. The very fact that the pilgrims have sufficient money to travel by lorry attracts the worst type of agents. Examples form the substance of many stories told along the pilgrimage route. Drivers may stop several times, each time demanding more money from the pilgrims before restarting. They normally pay if they are able to, for the fare they might have to pay to a following lorry is likely to be more than the increase demanded by their present driver. In other instances, much more ingenuity has been shown: with the tacit approval of *sarkin zongos*, two El Geneina residents used to intercept parties of pilgrims in the bush, erect a table and charge for bogus entry certificates into the Sudan. Pilgrims are often abandoned in the bush by drivers who never return to pick them up, having dropped them off whilst the vehicle went into El Geneina, ostensibly to refuel.

Stories such as these make some pilgrims too wary to trust the *sarkin zongos* in the El Geneina area, and fewer now pay at Abeche for entry into the Sudan. Pilgrims now tend to stay longer in Adre and try to negotiate more reliable ways eastwards. They remain largely dependent upon the *sarkin zongos* because guides are needed to lead the way into the Sudan and to negotiate a lift with a lorry driver.

The other main exit from Chad is in the south, from Goz Beida, where pilgrims filter into the Sudan at Fura Buranga. Movements across this section of the border are much less organised. There is no road, and *sarkin zongos* do not arrange guides or transport. All along the route, and at this border crossing, the pilgrims fend for themselves between *zongos*.

The more passive role of *sarkin zongos* on this route is the result of the poverty of these pilgrims. Many pilgrims choose the southern route because it is cheaper, and does not involve payments to agents; hence they are also unwilling, or unable, to pay *sarkin zongos* to act as guides. The smaller volume of travellers further reduces their role (Map 8). Above all, though, it is insecurity that makes *sarkin zongos* reluctant to act as guides in south-eastern Chad. The area is ravaged by 'anti-Government elements' by whom pilgrims and travellers are considered fair game. Agents are reluctant to guide people through the bush, because of the risk of robbery. In the absence of organised groups, pilgrims often join the caravans of people converging upon Fura Buranga market (where there are two small *zongos*), or are occasionally guided there by the nomadic Fulani. Most pilgrims walk through the Wadi Saleh, though some go to Zalingei.

The third and least important zone of entry into Darfur is around Umm Dafog. Those coming from Bangui board a lorry that will take them into the Nyala *zongo*. Not being able to enter the Sudan legally, pilgrims walk

around outside Umm Dafog while the lorry is cleared by the customs, rejoining it inside the Sudan. In contrast, pilgrims arriving from Fort Archambault tend to be poorer, and use donkeys. Those on this route congregate in the *zongos* at Rahed el Birdi, rather than travel directly to Nyala. They farm and work as tanners before passing on eastwards.

The impact of Sudanese immigration policy on pilgrim routeways between Chad and the Sudan The hostile attitude of the Sudan Government towards pilgrims from West Africa has made it increasingly difficult for them to enter the Sudan at El Geneina, as regulations have become more stringent and police activity in the area harder to avoid. One would expect this to be of impact upon the pattern of routes which, as has been seen, in the past responded quickly to factors adverse to the pilgrim flow by taking up new alignments. There has been some change, but it has not been great.

The *sarkin zongos* are important in keeping pilgrims concentrated on the direct lorry route between Abeche and El Geneina. Since *sarkis* have invested capital, and make considerable profit out of movements along this lorry route, it is in their interest to keep traffic confined to it, even though it may not be the best way for pilgrims to enter the Sudan.

Despite the conservative control that the *sarkin zongos* assert, some alterations in the routes are taking place. Pilgrims have begun to take the route from Abeche to Am Timan, entering the Sudan at Fura Buranga, avoiding the El Geneina area (see Maps 7 and 8). Those taking this path do so on the advice of pilgrims returning westwards, *not* on that of the *sarkin zongo* who still encourages them to carry on to Adre. However, during the field period, agents at Abeche, aware of the numbers travelling to Am Timan, ran several special lorries there, in order not to lose the pilgrims' fares, since they were determined to travel this route. Thus, in the face of a new initiative amongst pilgrims, the link between the *sarkin zongos* of Abeche and Adre is weakening a little.

Police activity near El Geneina is causing a divergence of routes from Adre into the Sudan. The most extreme example is the use of the track through Tini and Kutum (see Map 7). This diversification of routes is also a reflection of a lessening dependence upon the *sarkis*. Some of the pilgrims are entering the Sudan for their second or even third time, after deportation to Chad on their previous attempts. Having been caught by the police whilst in the charge of an agent, they prefer to try re-entering the Sudan alone. These, disillusioned with the *zongo* system, take other pilgrims with them into the Sudan, sometimes charging for services as guides.

The re-opening of the route through Kafia Kingi was unfortunately unsubstantiated by direct evidence. This route was initiated during the 1850s but later closed to pilgrimage traffic (see p.23). Problems encountered by pilgrims near El Geneina and Nyala brought about the re-opening of this route in December 1970. The pilgrims passed through Karia Kingi to Buram. That in times of difficulty the Kafia Kingi route should be re-opened is not surprising, for the name is strongly associated with the pilgrimage, and was a large West African settlement early in the twentieth century, remembered by many older people.

As yet, however, the overall pattern of entry into Darfur is little changed from the period in which the Sudan Government was more phlegmatic about the passage of West Africans. The ingredients for transformation are present, though. 'Experimental trips' along new routes have been made, as a consequence of individual pilgrim's initiative rather than *sarkin zongos*' decisions. This may herald the undermining of the conservative *zongo* system in the border area.

The pilgrims' progress through Darfur Over 90 per cent of pilgrims leaving Darfur to the east do so along the railway — some walking along the lines rather than riding the train. The Province is not an easy area in which to travel, even the railway being subject to long delays in the rains. The roads are generally not graded, comprising tracks which may be several miles wide where lorries wind their way through sandy sections.

In Darfur, the seasonal change in lorry movements affects the flow of pilgrim traffic. Map 9 shows seasonal variations in lorry trips. The closure of routes in the south is because of relatively high rainfall (c600mm), clay soils, and large wadis. To the north the lower rainfall (c200mm) and larger area of sandy soil (*qoz*) enables continuous services.

The dry season movements across the Province are shown on Map 10. Although most pilgrims travel along major lorry routes, many do not ride lorries. An increasing proportion walks because of the many police checks made on lorries, and because of the rising fares. Probably a majority walks from El Geneina to El Fasher, and along the southern routes to Ed Daein; most pilgrims travel between El Geneina and Nyala by lorry.

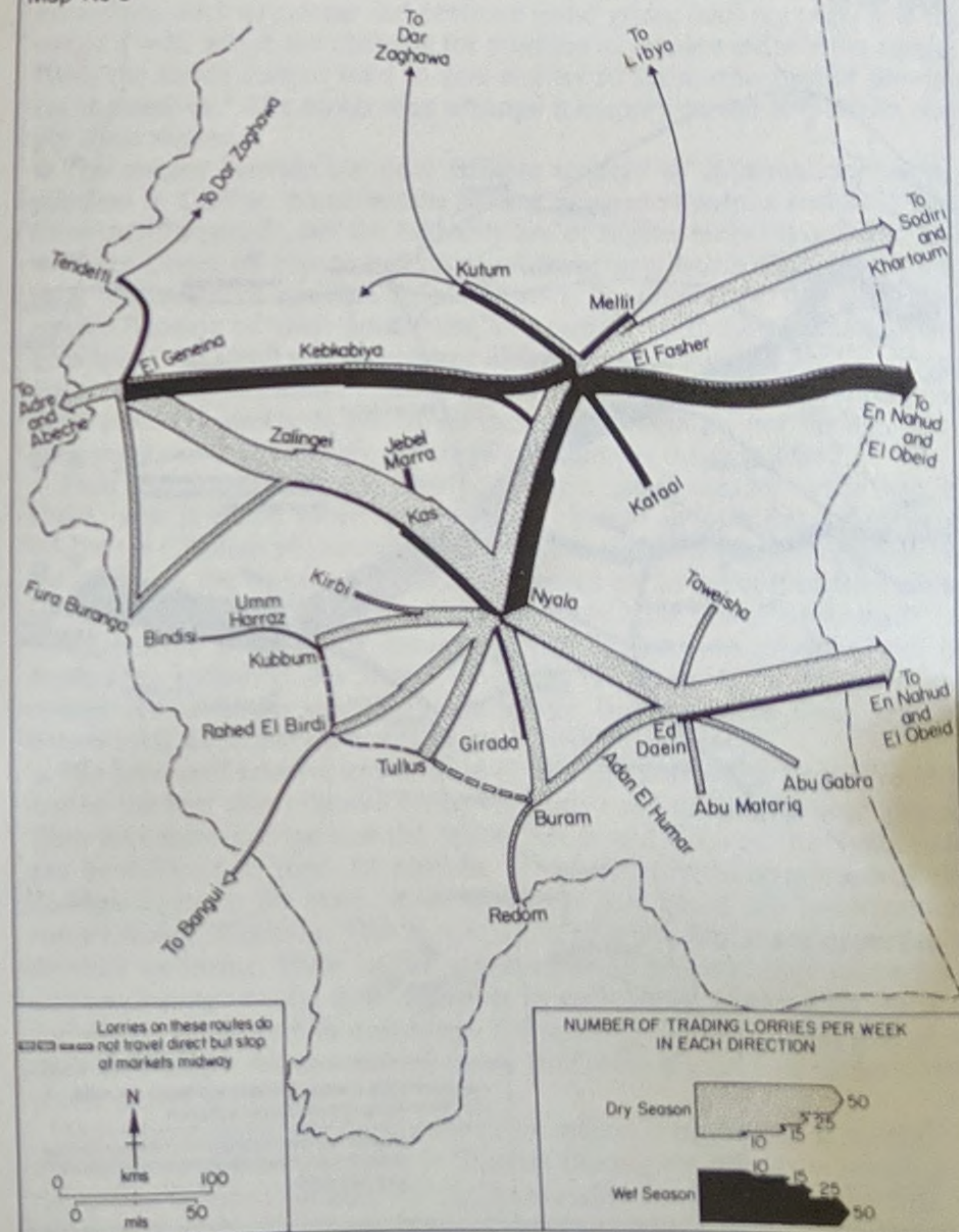
As more walk, their routes become increasingly devious as a result of their efforts to avoid the police patrols. One group of pilgrims, after entering the Sudan at Fura Buranga, walked to El Fasher via Garsilla, Zalingei, Kebkabiya and Tawila, before walking south to Ed Daein to catch the train. This desire to avoid Nyala, an area of intense anti-pilgrim activity, was also shown by a group who, from Zalingei, walked to El Fasher, from where they took lorries to En Nahud. Pilgrims take the view that the extra hardship involved in walking is worth incurring because of the need to avoid deportation. Thus, flows along the routes by-passing Nyala were increasing during the field period.

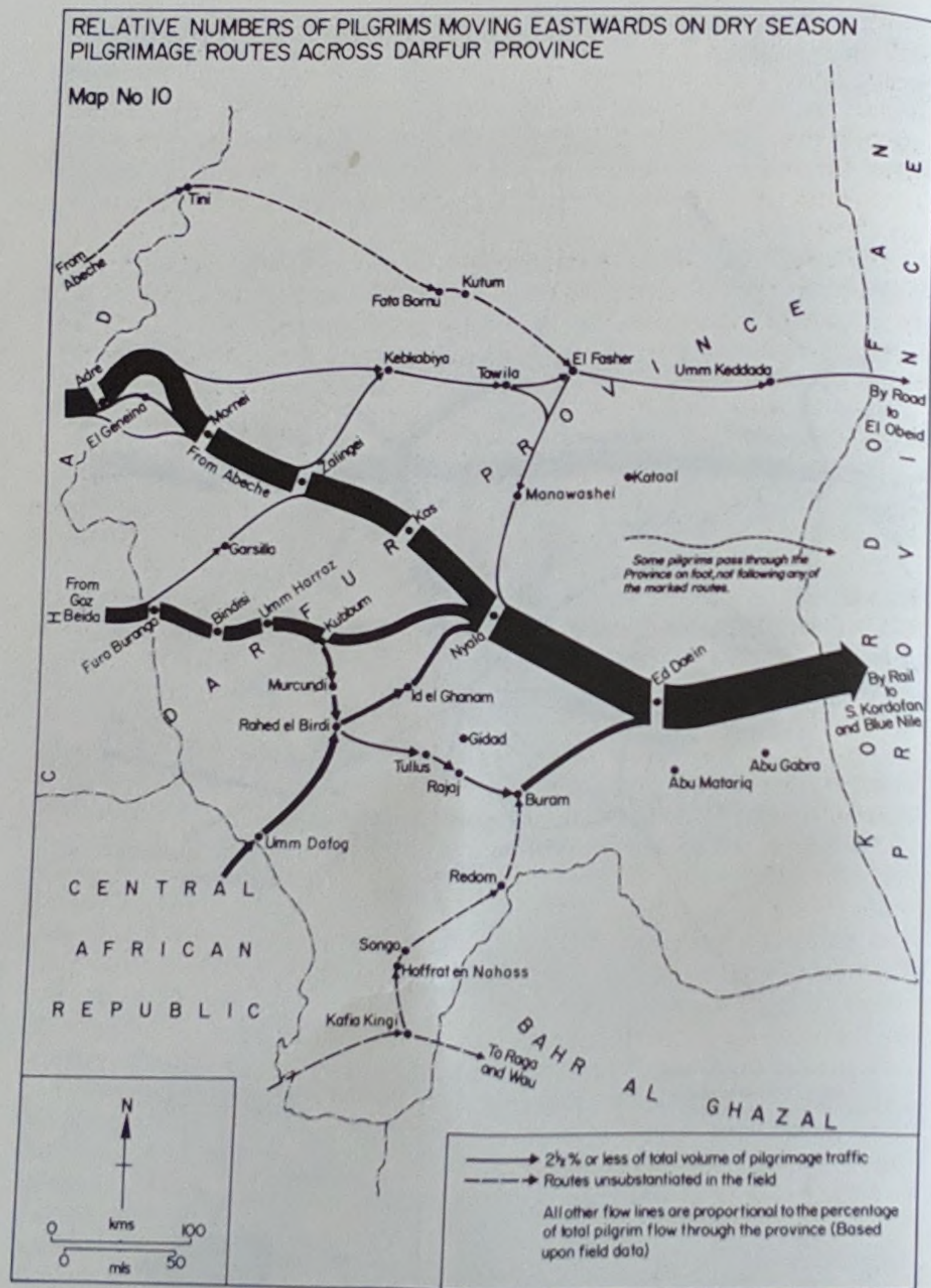
Changing patterns of traffic within Darfur Province were the result of advice given by local *sarkin zongos*. On entering the Sudan, the pilgrims become increasingly dependent upon the services provided by *sarkin zongos*. For the first time they encounter a language problem as Hausa is hardly spoken in Darfur, Arabic being the *lingua franca*; few speak colloquial Arabic on their entry into Darfur, so they are all the more attracted to *zongos*. Furthermore, the local cultures are more alien to the pilgrims than those met in Chad. Most important of all, on entering Darfur, they arrive in a region where both the Government and the indigenous population are not sympathetic to them.

Pilgrims undergo great physical stress in crossing the Province. Even travel on the top of a lorry on the bad roads is very trying, and those who walk need long periods of restitution after several days' exertions with

TRADING LORRY FREQUENCIES ON DARFUR PROVINCE ROADS, IN THE WET AND DRY SEASONS

Map No 9





insufficient food and water. *Zongos* are invaluable for giving birth to babies, recovering from illnesses, and simply as places to make up for lost sleep. During these recuperative periods, *sarkin zongos* provide basic necessities, such as mortar and pestle to grind grain, cooking pots, and the use of a well, which are difficult for pilgrims to acquire outside the *zongo*. Also, the *sarkin zongos* tend to give charity to those who cannot provide for themselves.* The *sarkis* may arrange transport on the few lorries that ply these routes.

The *zongos* provide the only reliable sources of information for the pilgrims in Darfur. Some *sarkin zongos* are unscrupulous and deal with them only for profit, but the majority are of higher moral standards, and will give advice on routes and times of departure; hence their diversification. Exchange of genuine information is facilitated in the Darfurian *zongos* because of their small size, in contrast to those in Chad. Also, because of the small and temporary nature of these *zongos*, *sarkin zongos* are prepared to be flexible regarding the routes by which they send pilgrims eastwards. The *sarkis* do not invest capital in buildings, nor do they have agreements to exchange groups of pilgrims as do those in Chad.

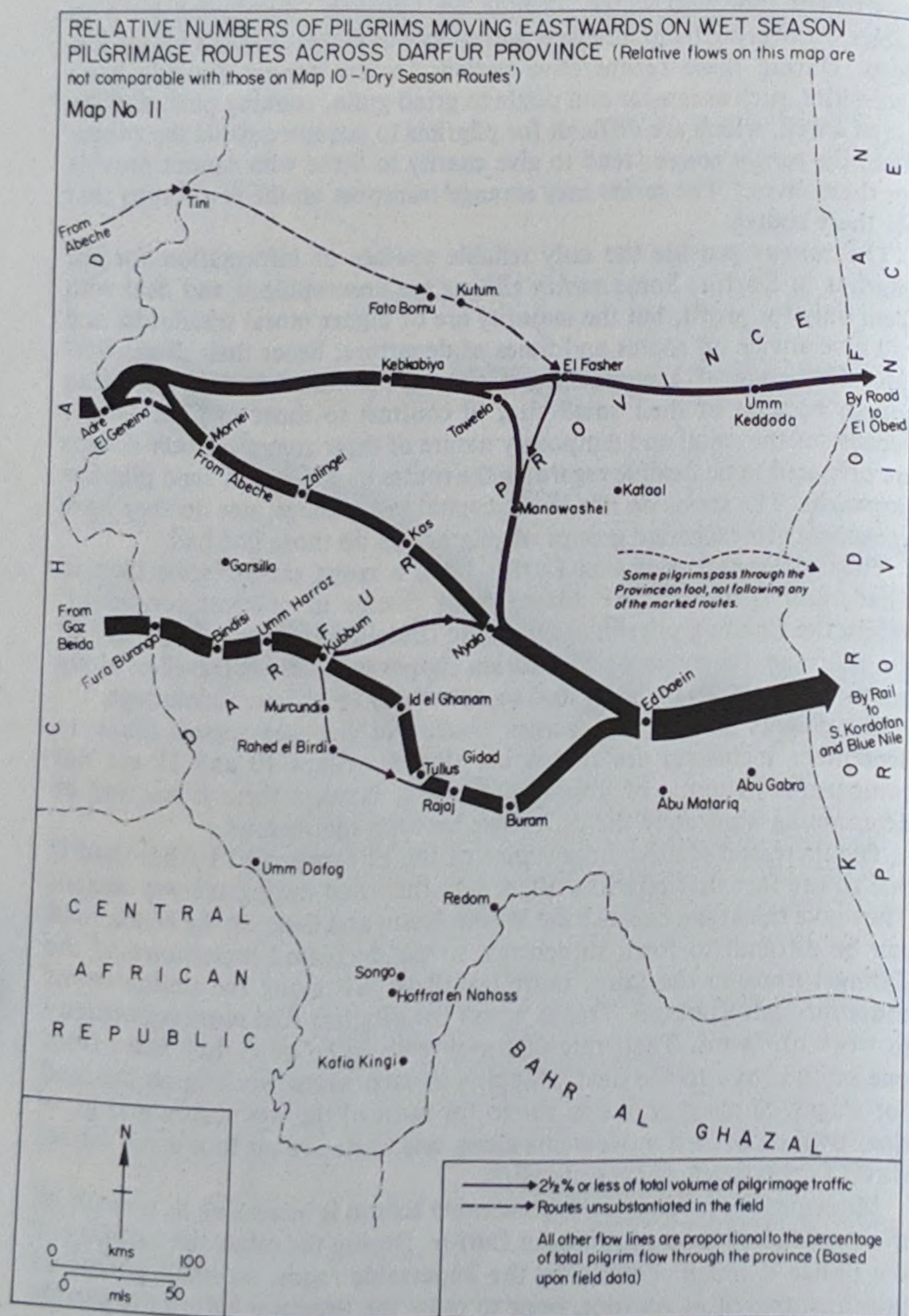
Thus the *zongo* system in Darfur is on a much smaller scale than in Chad, and is much more adaptable to change in political conditions. Whilst the Chadian pilgrim agents try to contain the stream of pilgrims on the old route, the owners of Darfurian *zongos* try to direct travellers along newer more suitable routes, and so operate to their better advantage.

Movements of pilgrims across Darfur in the wet season (June to September inclusive) are shown on Map 11. Maps 10 and 11 are not comparable in terms of absolute numbers, because there is no way of determining accurately the difference between the seasons.

The increased relative importance of the El Geneina-El Fasher road is due to the fact that pilgrims often walk this road during the wet season. They take this route because the Wadis Azum and Golo on the Nyala road can be difficult to ford. In contrast to the decreased importance of the Zalingei route in the rains, more travellers pass along the southernmost route through Kubbum. This is where the pilgrims find most opportunity to work on farms. Their rate of travel tends to be slow; they move from one small *zongo* to the next, stopping in each whilst working on the land for wages. Some stay in one *zongo* for most of the wet season and grow their own crops. All movements along this route are on foot as no lorries travel in the south during the rains.

Movement eastwards during the rainy season is increasing as a result of the vigilance of the authorities in Darfur. During the rains, the mobility of the police is much reduced by the impassable roads, so small groups of pilgrims, travelling on foot, hope to cross the Province before the patrols of the following dry season have begun. Once out of the border zone, pilgrims feel that the risks of deportation are much reduced.

*This is genuine charity, as opposed to that in Chad, which as 'Pilgrim Work' is expected to give economic reward to the giver (see Works, 1976, 80).



From Darfur to Arabia Most pilgrims cross Kordofan by train, few walking long distances east of Darfur. However, they do not pass directly to the east, but only travel from one railway town to the next, stopping in each to earn the fare for the next stage of the journey. Most are too impecunious to pay for a ticket all the way to the Nile Valley, their money usually having been exhausted by the time they reach the railhead.

Pilgrims generally travel to the Gezira and Gedaref areas (see Map 14), where they live for some years, saving money to pay for the final stages of the *hajj*. When they have accumulated enough funds, they travel to Khartoum and there, for the first time, the pilgrims officially declare themselves as such. They seek out the West African Embassies and apply for passports, which are granted on confirmation of pilgrims' identities. There are people living in Esh Esh, the West African quarter of Khartoum, who make a living by aiding and endorsing passport applications — these represent another link in the chain of agents working along the pilgrimage route.

When they have acquired a passport the pilgrims apply for entry visas to Saudi Arabia. Some do this in Khartoum, from where they fly direct to Jiddah, but most go to Port Sudan. Here they are inoculated and gain their Arabian visas before they embark on the ferries to Jiddah. There the West Africans join the mass of pilgrims, and perform the rites that have brought them as much as 3,000 miles across Africa.

3. The westward movement of returning pilgrims

After performing the *hajj* the West Africans return to the Sudan. Few set off on the journey homewards in the same year that they make the *hajj*, most living for some years in the Sudan, saving money for the return trip.

The vital difference between the eastward and homeward movements is that the latter can be made legally. All returning pilgrims have their passports and travel certificates, and so can pass through border posts without being apprehended. Furthermore, the Sudan erects no barriers to their westward movement; this outward flow is looked upon favourably, as it reduces the number of West Africans in the Sudan — one of the objectives of current policy (see p.137). This means that the pattern is much simpler, the pilgrim flow being concentrated along the direct route (see Map 12).

Over 95 per cent of pilgrims interviewed arrived at Nyala by train direct from the Nile Valley, without staying in any of the railway towns of Kordofan. This contrast to the movement eastwards is a reflection of their ability to save money before departing, thus enabling them to pay for the whole train journey at once. Eighty-five per cent of the sample continued by lorry along the direct route from Nyala to Abeche and Fort Lamy.

Of these, about one in ten left the Sudan illegally, by-passing the border post. Some had lost their passports. Others had sold them, and so thought they could not leave the Sudan legally. In fact, most of them could have done so, because regulations concerning pilgrims departing the Sudan are lax, and no West Africans are refused permission to leave because they have no proof of nationality.

A better grounded motive behind these illegal exits from the Sudan was the desire to evade the currency and customs regulations. There are stringent restraints on the export of Sudanese currency; £10 Sudanese is the maximum sum that any individual can take out, and any excess is confiscated at the border — so pilgrims with large amounts of cash tend to leave illegally. Often the savings of several families are pooled, and taken to Adre illegally by a courier.

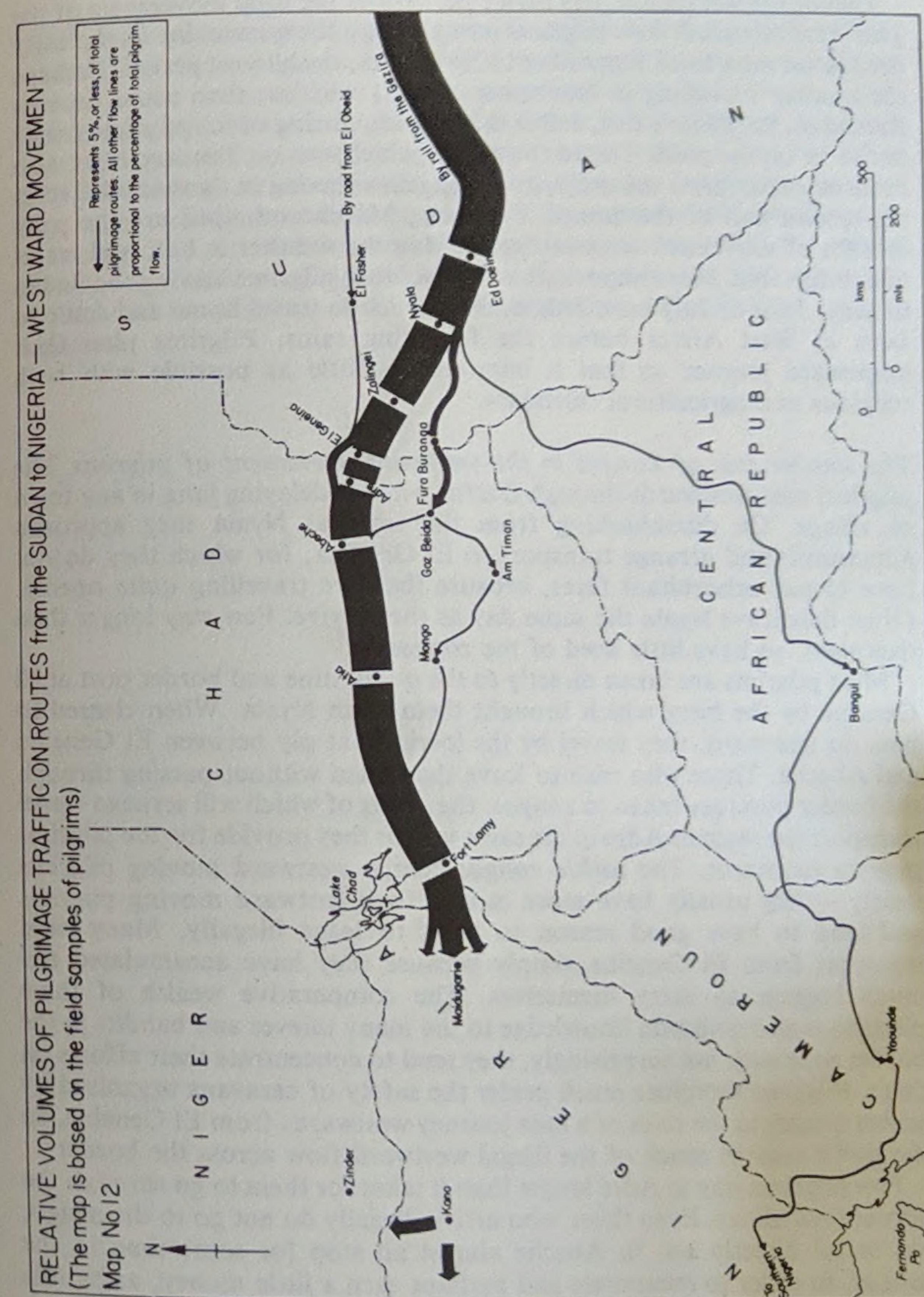
Some of the poorer families leave illegally in order to avoid the exit tax of £3 Sudanese per head and payments for certificates of inoculation. Passing through the border post can be quite costly if a period of quarantine is enforced. Pilgrims who arrive at El Geneina quarantine more than ten years after their return from Hijaz are likely to be delayed for eight days because of expiry of their yellow fever vaccination. Such a hold-up, during which a family cannot earn because they are confined, is more than some can afford.

Pilgrims who leave illegally from the south of Darfur tend to do so for reasons other than to avoid the border authorities. They wish to go home along the same routes by which they made the outward journey to visit relatives and friends. It is significant, in view of the breakdown of tribal use of the different routeways in an easterly direction, that all but one pilgrim of the twenty-one household heads interviewed who were travelling westwards through Fura Buranga were Fulani or Kanuri (see above, p.48).

Most westward movements occur during the dry season. Pilgrims have no reason to evade the authorities, and most wait until they have completed their harvests, consequently departing in the dry season. Since much more of the westward flow is recorded, data from El Geneina quarantine can be used to give some indication of this seasonality of movement.

Table IV.
NUMBERS OF PILGRIMS PASSING THROUGH EL GENEINA QUARANTINE,
BY CALENDAR MONTH, 1970-71

Month	Number of Pilgrims	Percentage of Pilgrims
December 1970	258	8.3
January 1971	467	15.0
February 1971	640	20.6
March 1971	623	20.1
April 1971	483	15.6
May 1971	358	11.5
June 1971	176	5.7
July 1971	8	0.3
August 1971	15	0.5
September 1971	2	0.1
October 1971	61	1.9
November 1971	13	0.4
December 1971	Month of Data Collection	



During the wet season, less than 1 per cent of the total movements of the year were recorded. Few pilgrims pass through the quarantine in the early dry season months of September to November, the harvest period. Perhaps the number travelling in November of 1971 was less than usual because Ramadan, the Islamic fast, fell in that month, during which pilgrims prefer not to be on the road. The Id (Festival), which was on January 13th, also reduced departures: the majority of pilgrims leaving in January did so in the second half of the month. February, March and April are the peak months of movement westwards. By May the weather is hot, and travel uncomfortable. More important is the fact that pilgrims leaving the Sudan in May, June or July have little time in which to travel home and settle to farm in West Africa before the following rains. Pilgrims plan their homeward journey so that it interferes as little as possible with both religious and agricultural calendars.

The smaller role of Zongos in the westward movement of pilgrims The pilgrims pass westwards through Darfur without delaying long in any town or village. On disembarking from the train at Nyala they approach *kamusanjis* and arrange transport to El Geneina, for which they do not have to pay exorbitant fares, because they are travelling quite openly. Often they leave Nyala the same day as they arrive. Few stay longer than overnight, so have little need of the *zongos*.

Most pilgrims are taken directly to the quarantine and border post at El Geneina by the lorry which brought them from Nyala. When cleared to pass on westward, they travel by the lorries that ply between El Geneina and Abeche. Those who wish to leave the Sudan without passing through the border posts are taken to *zongos*, the *sarkis* of which will arrange camel transport for them to Adre in the same way as they provide for the pilgrims moving eastwards. The *sarkin zongos* charge westward moving pilgrims dearly—they usually have more money than eastward moving pilgrims and tend to have good reason to want to leave illegally. Many need transport from El Geneina simply because they have accumulated too much luggage to carry themselves. The comparative wealth of these pilgrims is also common knowledge to the many thieves and bandits in the border zone and, not surprisingly, they tend to concentrate their efforts on them. Pilgrims therefore much prefer the safety of caravans organised by *sarkin zongos* to the risks of a lone journey westwards from El Geneina, so the *sarkis* control much of the illegal westward flow across the border.

Few pilgrims stay in Adre longer than it takes for them to go through the border formalities. Even those who arrive illegally do not go to the *zongo*, but travel directly on. In Abeche almost all stop for some time in the *zongos*, in order to recuperate and perhaps earn a little money, as by this stage of the journey funds are often running low. Virtually all use lorry transport to Fort Lamy arranged by the *sarkin zongo*. Many pilgrims work for a period in Fort Lamy on the return journey and so live in *zongos* there before setting off home.

Thus, beneath the pattern of mobility of pilgrims, there lies an infrastructure to aid and control their movement that is run by professionals.

This 'zongo system', whilst always providing shelter and essentials such as cooking utensils for pilgrims, fulfills slightly different functions in different sections of the route, and for pilgrims travelling to or from Mecca. These different functions have brought about different forms of *zongo*: the large-scale rigid system for transporting pilgrims openly across Chad has led to the vast buildings in Abeche; the system aiding the clandestine entry of pilgrims into the Sudan has brought about the impermanent, small *zongos* of Darfur. The result of this organisation of movement is that the pattern of routeways is better considered in terms of *zongos* and *sarkis*' instruction and advice to pilgrims, than as an aggregate of individual pilgrim decisions.

VI Pilgrims and West Africans in the Sudan

During the twentieth century, a large number of West Africans have settled in the Sudan. An appreciation of their numbers and distribution is necessary background to an understanding of the characteristics of present-day pilgrimage along the savannas.

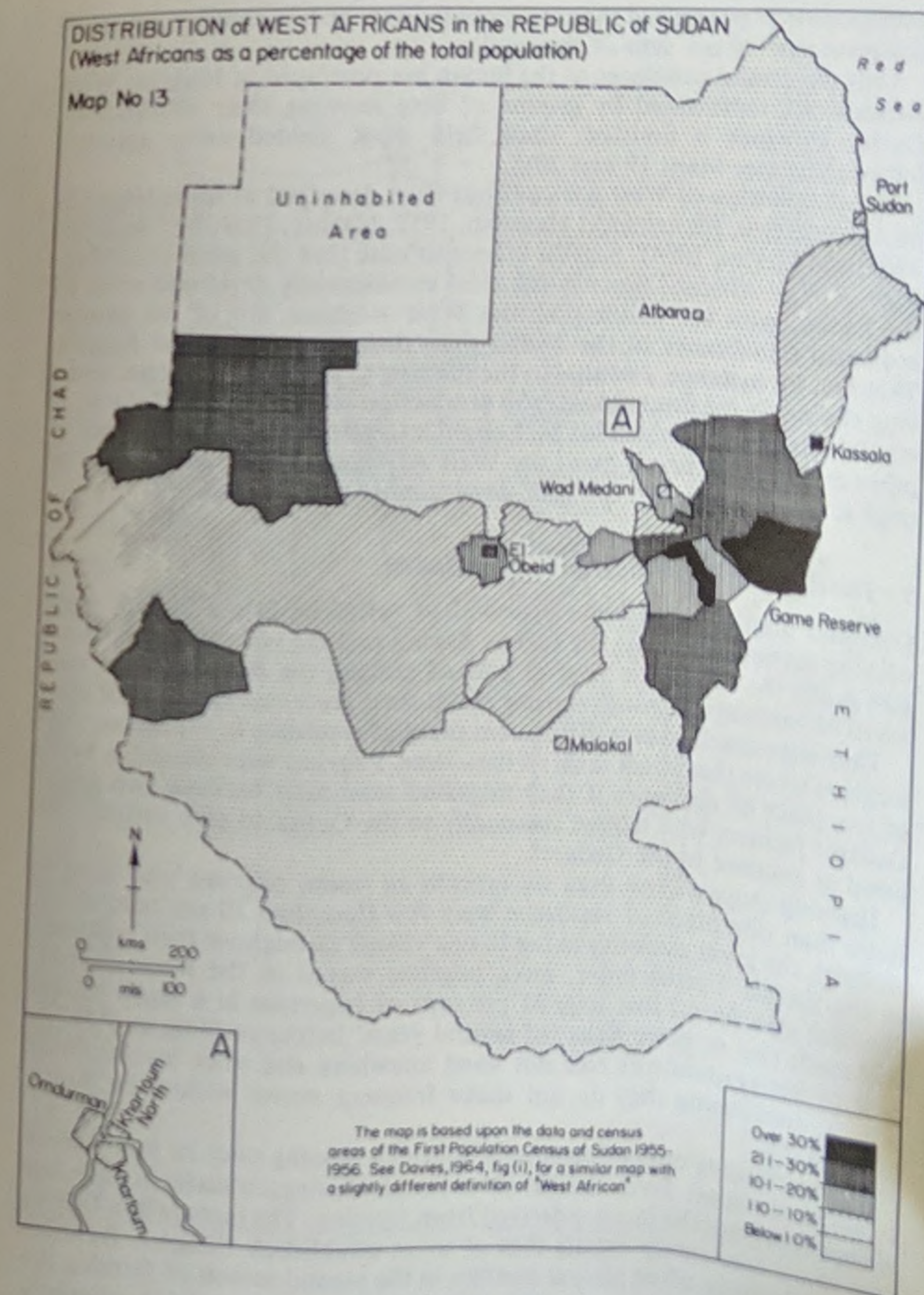
1. *The West Africans in the Sudan*

The only comprehensive records of West African residents in the Sudan are in the 1955/6 Population Census. Previous figures are estimates, but do at least show the rapid expansion of West Africans in the Sudan from about 30,000 in 1912 to 250,000 in 1947 (McLoughlin, 1963). According to the Census there were 1,358,639 'Westerners' in the Sudan of which a minimum of 602,086 were born of parents in or from West Africa (Davies, 1964). This figure is not accurate, however. The Census was conducted on a sample basis, giving only inaccurate figures for small groups. Apart from the sampling errors, other factors meant that this estimate was 'a conservative one' (Davies, 1964; 222): West Africans who had only recently entered the Sudan were not enumerated;* the *de jure* basis upon which the Census depended tended to exclude the mobile West Africans; substantial evasion took place, and some of the more timid and suspicious left villages as enumerators arrived; and many West Africans claimed Sudanese Nationality illegally (Census Methods Report). In view of the inaccuracies, it is obviously not possible to extrapolate these figures with great accuracy, especially as the West African population is being augmented by immigrants from the west and is thought to be of higher fertility than the native Sudanese (Wachter, 1958; 62). An estimate of the West African population living in the Sudan based on an expansion rate of 56.9 per cent (the average growth of the total population since the Census, according to official estimates) would come to almost 800,000; there are probably well over 1,000,000.

2. *The distribution of West Africans in the Sudan*

The mapped distributions of West Africans are based upon the 1955/6 Census figures, as this general pattern still prevails. Map 13 is similar to one by H.R.J. Davies, but Chadians have been omitted (1964; 224). West Africans are virtually confined to the four savanna provinces, which

*This error is considerable. When Kashalongo Zongo was visited (see Map No. 1) only six out of the 45 West Africans in residence there had been in the Sudan for longer than six months, and so only 13% of the village would have been enumerated.



remain over 10 per cent of the total population? and is each of these two comprise over 10 per cent of the total?

Only the central provinces of the Sudan are portrayed in Map 15. West Africans are represented by groups of dots showing their distribution. Darfur Province is omitted, since field work yielded more accurate information (see Maps 15 and 16).

The distribution of West Africans has been described at some length in other works (see, for instance, Harrison, 1952; Mathis, 1953; McLaughlin, 1962; and Davies, 1964). Suffice it here to note that the main concentration of West Africans occur in the more economically developed areas of the Sudan, with the result that the West Africans are of the greatest economic significance in the Sudan than their numbers would suggest. They are, for instance, essential to the running of the Gezira scheme and a vital element in the mechanised crop production scheme of the Chadari. It was this distribution which, for McLaughlin (1962), was, in the absence of other more conventional data, the West Africans in the Sudan might be used as an indicator of economic development and potential.

3. The distribution of pilgrims in the Sudan

Overland pilgrimages include a period of residence in the Sudan, and earning money to finance the trip is vital. The return journey home (see p. 26) is the most targeted part of making the Hajj, and pilgrims were asked to record their moving pilgrim about their place and duration of stay.

They were asked to give their 'main place of residence in the Sudan', the location where they spent most of their time. Pilgrims were classed as being of one place of residence if they migrated seasonally between two areas. Chadari farmers who moved seasonally to the Gezira to pick cotton were listed as residing in the Chadari.

Ignoring those of less than 20 months or more, pilgrims who lived in more than one place of residence were few (less than 10 per cent of the sample), the great majority living in one village throughout their residence in the Sudan. Furthermore, most pilgrims stayed in the same quarter. Chadian also found that only 31 per cent of Nigerians in a Hajji village had made two or more trips 'of several years' before setting out, and 20 per cent of the respondents had not lived anywhere else since leaving their home, confirming that they do not make frequent moves within the Sudan (1965, 120).

Several factors militate against a pilgrim's moving since he has become established, apart from the direct costs of moving, transfer to another village depresses the income derived from farming. The income of a farmer is at any time nearly equal to that of most established villagers, deriving from agriculture often almost double in the second season of farming the same or a nearby plot (see p. 28). Other factors being equal, a pilgrim's income is depressed considerably if he does not farm in the same location several years in succession.

Although Chadians have been excluded from the calculation, the percentage cannot be said to be correct as to have (1965, 120).



area to pilgrims because it is easy for newcomers to acquire the use of land with usufructory rights. The climate and soils are well-suited to the West Africans' favourite crop, *dukn* (millet). There are also opportunities for paid farm labouring and dry season employment, especially cotton-picking.

Almost one in ten pilgrims lives in the Three Towns. Most are craftsmen or tradesmen, and of West African urban origins. Thus, just as pilgrims of rural origins are drawn to small farming communities in the Sudan, so those from the towns seek an environment similar to that which they left in West Africa. The preponderance of rural origins of pilgrims is reflected in their predominantly rural distribution in the Sudan.

4. The temporal aspects of pilgrimage

This comprises the time taken by pilgrims travelling between their homes in West Africa and the Sudan and, secondly, the period of residence in the Sudan. Information was gained from pilgrims travelling in both directions across Darfur Province: those moving eastwards were asked when they had departed from home; those moving westwards were asked how long they had been in the Sudan.

For the duration of the return westward journey, between Darfur and West Africa, only hearsay evidence was collected: most intended to be home within a few weeks of leaving the Sudan, not intending to stop en route to earn money. Poorer pilgrims may take several years, but they are only a small minority.

Time taken by pilgrims en route eastwards to the Sudan The average time taken by pilgrims to reach Darfur from their homes in West Africa was thirteen months, but this covers a wide range of responses related to different rates of travel along the various routes. Pilgrims using the direct route take between nine and ten months, those travelling through the south eighteen months on average (see Fig. II).

Graham found that pilgrims only took between three and four weeks to travel from Kano to the eastern Sudan (1963; 126-127). Possibly Graham's respondents did not include time spent in the *zongos*. In contrast only two interviewed in the present survey arrived in the Sudan less than three months after their departure from home. This difference is probably a consequence of the changed conditions along the route: Grahams' interviewees had crossed Africa legally in the 1950s, when official overland travel organisations for pilgrims were at their most efficient. Today pilgrims expect the journey to take 'the dry season'.

Periods of residence of pilgrims in the eastern Sudan It was important to distinguish between West Africans going home because they had completed the *hajj*, and those who were travelling westwards for other reasons. These latter, 'displaced settlers', can be conveniently distinguished as having spent over twenty years in the Sudan and are excluded from this analysis.

Returning pilgrims had lived in the Sudan for an average of eight years, two months (see Fig. III). In the late 1940s, the pilgrimage needed about

Fig II TIME TAKEN BY PILGRIMS EN ROUTE EASTWARDS FROM WEST AFRICA TO DARFUR PROVINCE

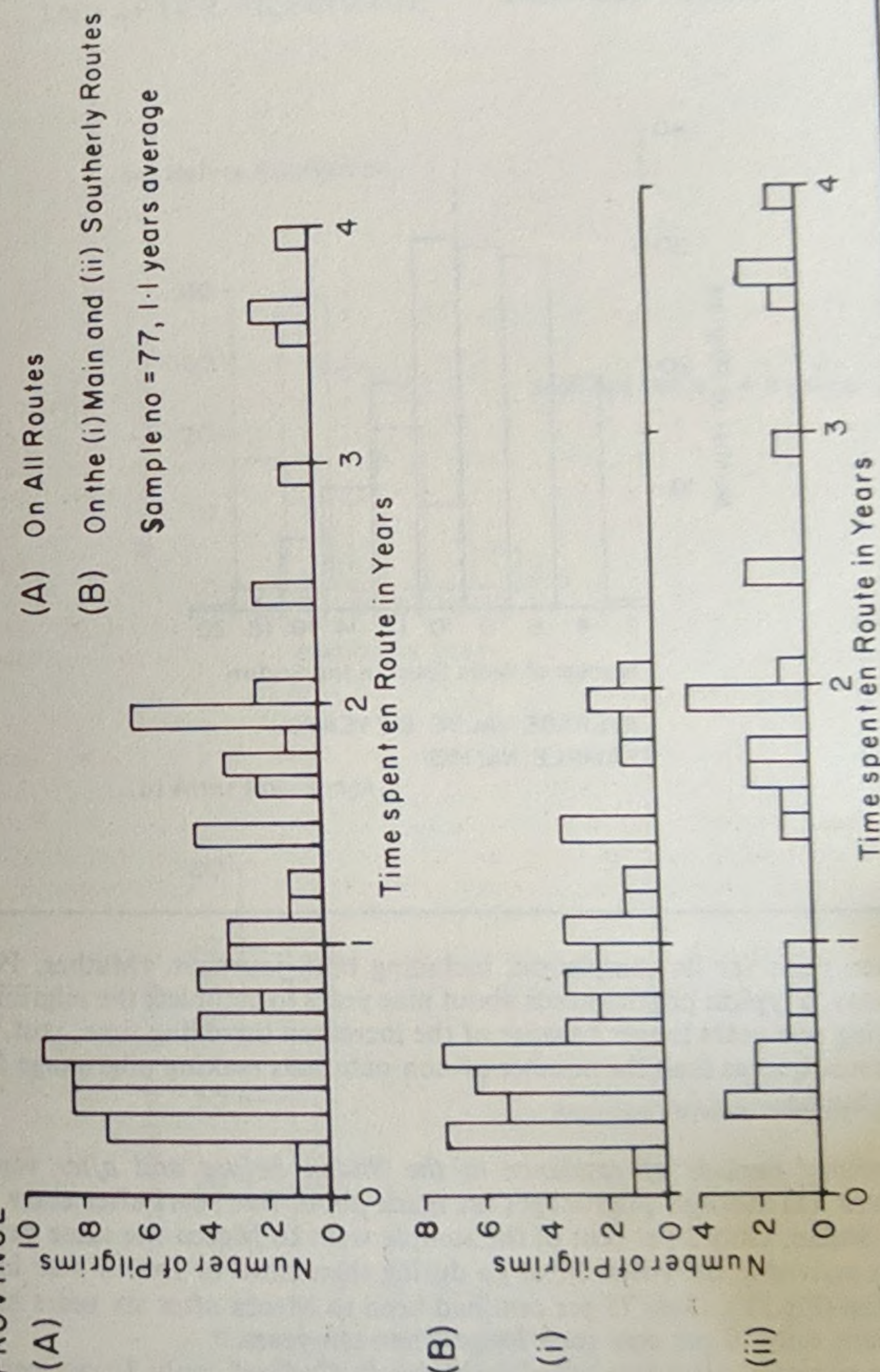
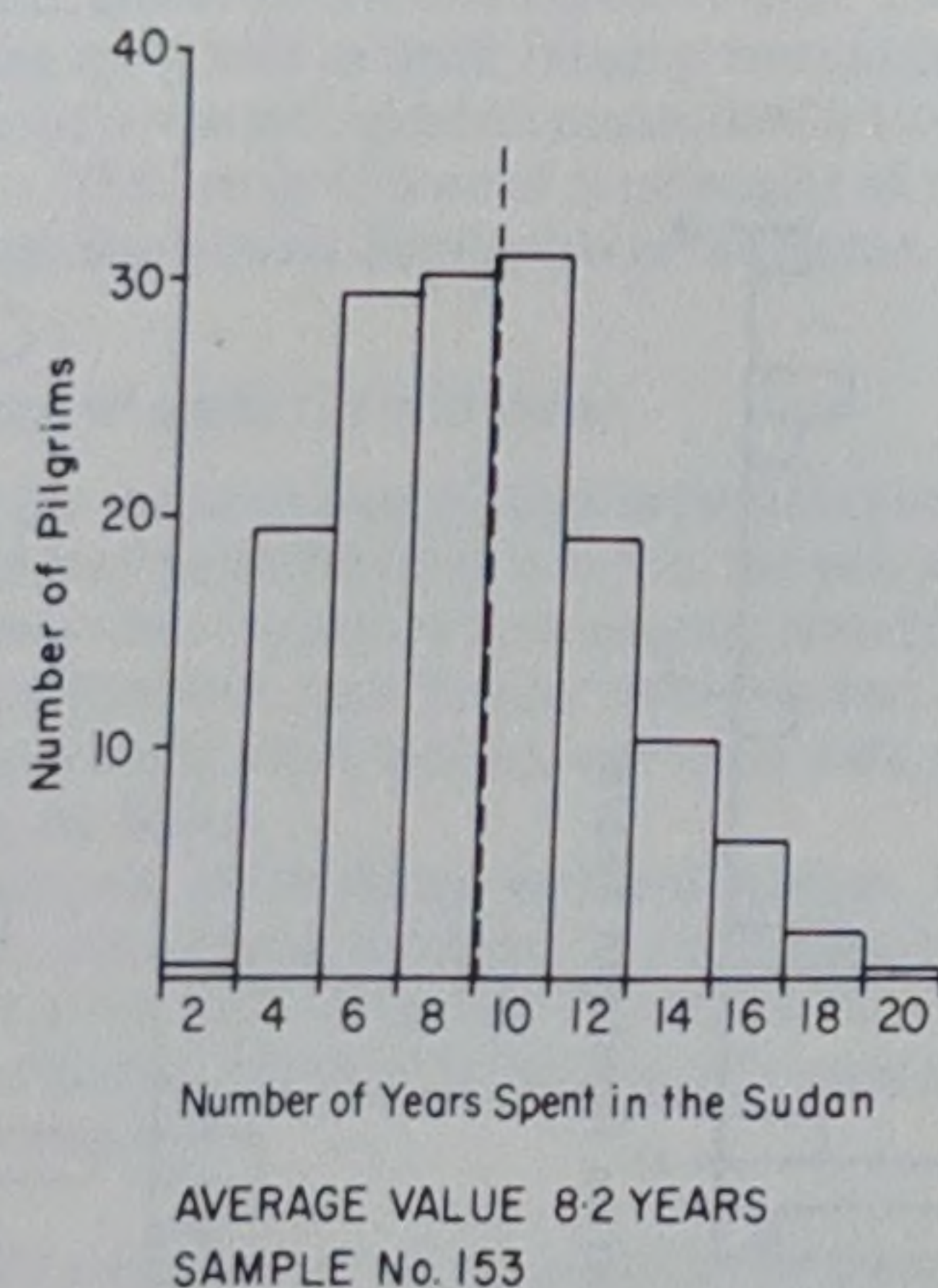


Fig. III: TOTAL TIME SPENT BY PILGRIMS IN THE SUDAN EN ROUTE TO AND FROM HIJAZ



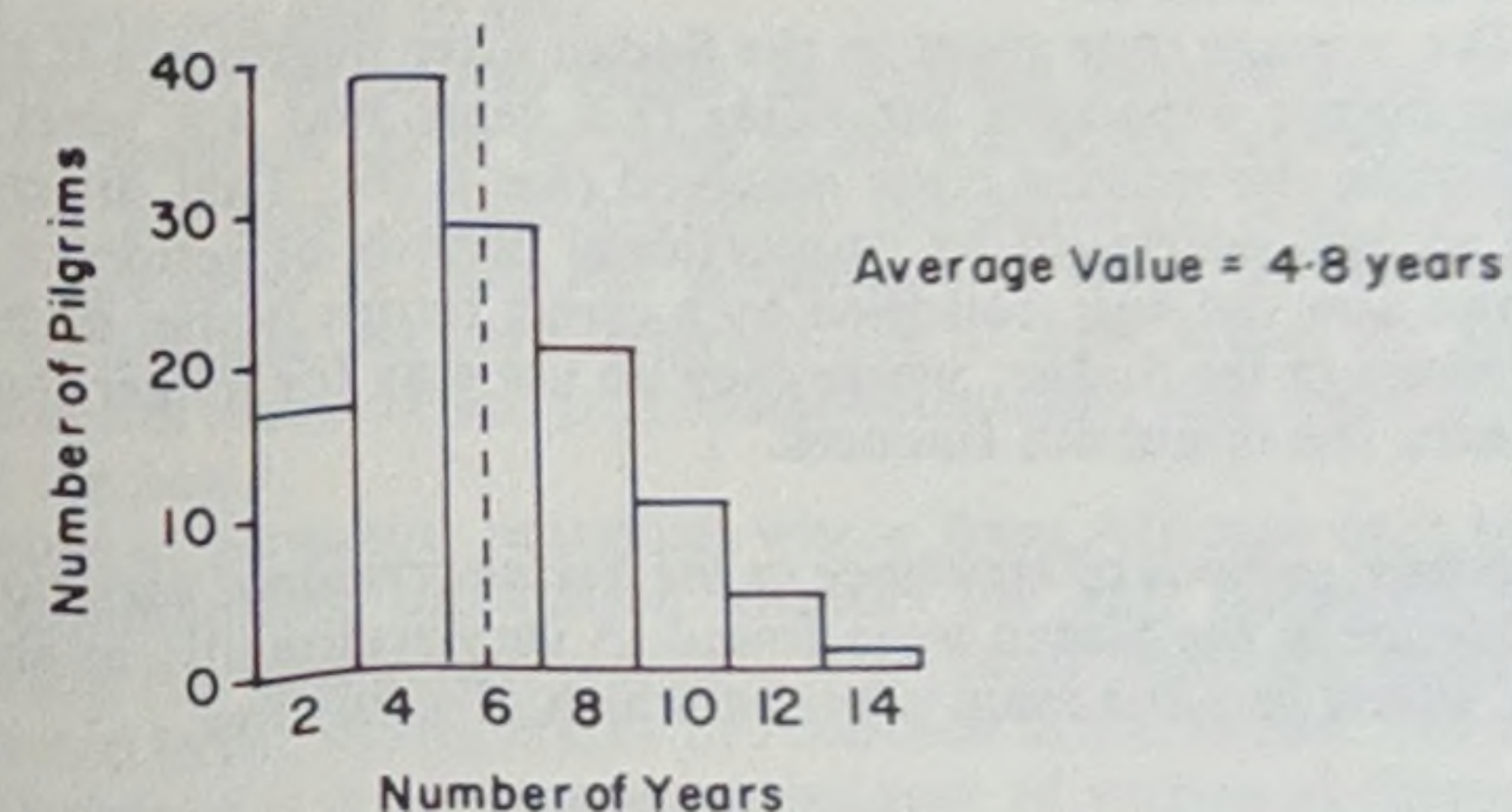
seven years for its completion, including both journeys. (Mather, 1953.) Today, a typical pilgrim needs about nine years to complete the pilgrimage, taking two years longer because of the increased travelling time, cost, and because quotas limit the number of non-nationals making pilgrimage from the Sudan.

Pilgrims' periods of residence in the Sudan before and after visiting Mecca On average, pilgrimages are made about five years after entry into the Sudan. Only 3 per cent of the sample went to Mecca the same year as they arrived at the Niles. Most go during their third or fourth year in the Sudan (Fig. IV). Over 75 per cent had been to Mecca after six years in the Sudan; only 10 per cent took longer than ten years.

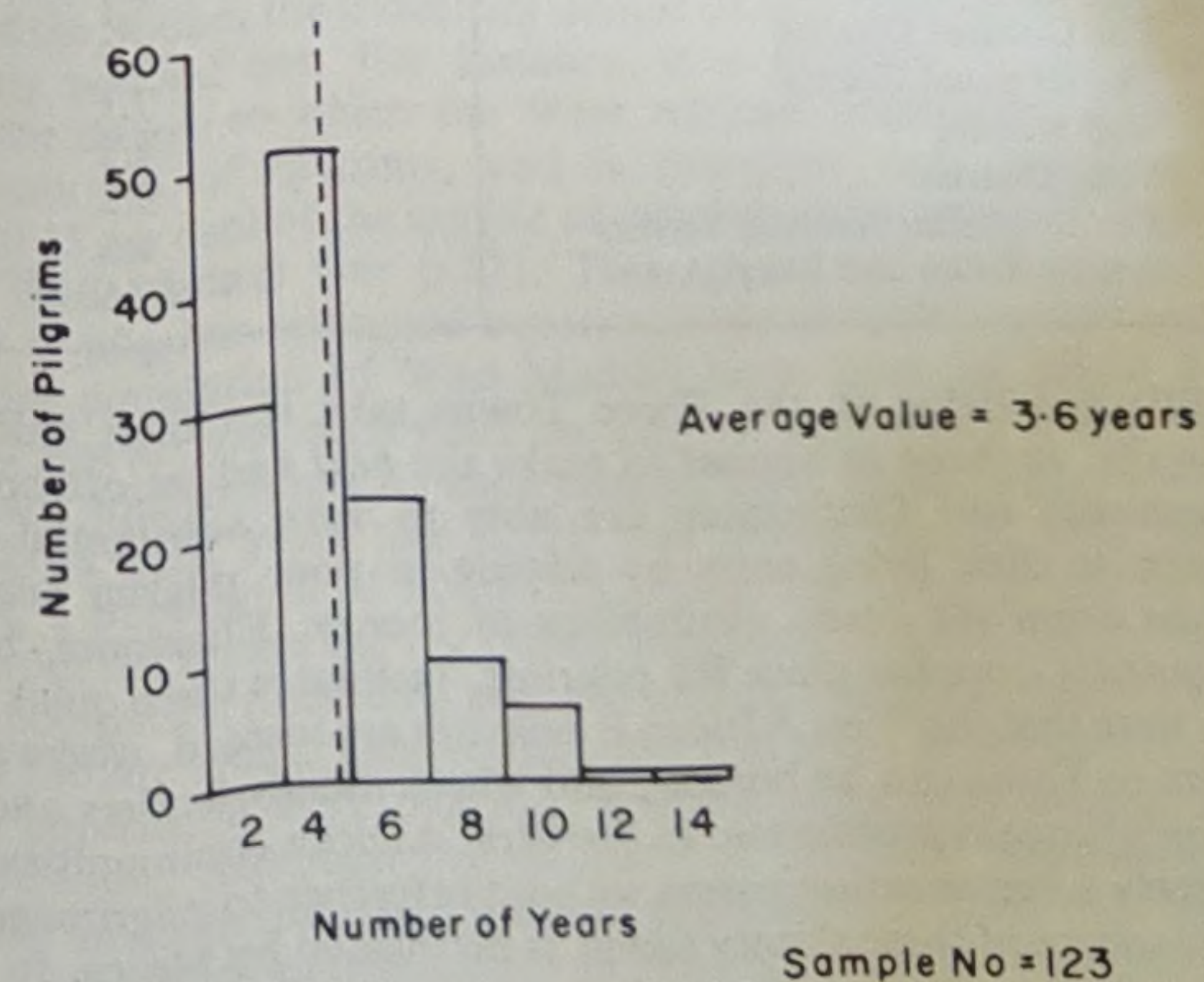
In contrast, after five years' residence in Gedaref, only 31 per cent of Graham's 'pilgrim West Africans' had made the *hajj* (1963; 128), and only 60 per cent of those who had been in Sudan for twenty-five years had been to Mecca. The distinction lies in the different samples: the sample taken in Darfur was selective, for respondents were all 'successful pilgrims' going

Fig IV TIME SPENT BY PILGRIMS IN THE SUDAN BEFORE AND AFTER PILGRIMAGE

(a) Before Pilgrimage



(b) After Pilgrimage



home, whereas Graham was interviewing 'settlers' as well as pilgrims, who had moved to the Sudan for reasons other than the *hajj* and who take longer over making the pilgrimage.

Two thirds of pilgrims are homeward-bound within four years of their making the pilgrimage. Only 5 per cent leave the Sudan more than eight years after the *hajj*. This is not to assert that only 5 per cent of *all* West Africans remain longer than eight years after visiting Mecca, for the number who made the pilgrimage and then settled cannot be deduced. A pilgrim who has not moved westwards in less than eight years after his *hajj* is unlikely to do so.

The average time spent in the Sudan after pilgrimage is slightly shorter than before departure for Hijaz (3.6 years and 4.8 years respectively), reflecting the relative costs involved (see p.76). That differences in costs are so well-portrayed by proportional periods of residence in the Sudan shows how the *hajj*, followed by a direct return home, dominates pilgrim activities in the Sudan, where they do not stay for longer than is necessary to earn the minimum finances.

Pilgrims' periods of residence in the Sudan: regional variations Periods of residence in the Sudan were found to vary regionally, as shown in Table VI, which lists the main areas in which pilgrims live.

Table VI.
PILGRIMS' PERIODS OF RESIDENCE IN THE SUDAN:
REGIONAL VARIATIONS

Area of Residence	Average No. of Years
The Three Towns	5.1
The Gedaref District	6.9
The Irrigated Gezira	7.1
Wad Medani	8.2
Fung District	9.2
The Kordofan Railway Towns	9.5
Sennar Town and Rural Area	10.6

Pilgrims living in the Three Towns take less than half as long, on average, as those in Sennar to make the *hajj* and set off home. Those in Khartoum and Omdurman are able to earn substantial incomes and minimise their living costs by staying in poor pilgrim accommodation. Apart from the ready availability of money, Khartoum, being such an important stopping place for pilgrims, facilitates these quick journeys, for it is here that the West African Embassies are located, where all-in package tours to Hijaz can be bought, and where money-lenders and scribes who aid pilgrimages proliferate. In the West African communities in Khartoum scarcely a conversation passes without reference to pilgrimage — the whole atmosphere of these shanty towns is permeated by Mecca, to which prayer and industry alike are directed, resulting in a feverish desire to make the *hajj*. Paradoxically, this piety and dedication exists amongst some of

the most amoral and non-Islamic behaviour to be found in the northern Sudan.

Opportunities for West Africans in the Gedaref District mean that pilgrims living there also stay for a below-average length of time. A social environment very favourable to the pilgrimage has developed. Those sampled who had lived in Gezira stayed slightly longer in the Sudan before setting off westwards. Wad Medani is ranked as the fourth quickest place from which to make the pilgrimage: its main drawback, from a pilgrim's point of view, is the difficulty of finding farmland. Wad Medani is an expensive town in which to live, probably slowing the rate at which pilgrims living there are able to save.

Pilgrims in the Fung District stay longer, on average, than those in Wad Medani, but even longer is taken by those in the Kordofan railway towns or Sennar. These are areas of less economic development, and average pilgrim incomes are lower in these less advantageous areas, so the funds take longer to accumulate. As fewer pilgrims live in these areas, the West African communities there are less pilgrimage-orientated, and there is less urgency about the *hajj*.

Thus, in centres of economic potential, where West Africans earn high incomes, the communities' orientation towards the *hajj* reinforces the individual's desire for pilgrimage, which is completed relatively quickly, and this is reflected in the short periods of residence in the Sudan. Outside these areas, pilgrimage is a slower process because of increased financial difficulties and reduced pilgrim intent.

The sample taken in Darfur has to some extent enabled the analysis of the geography of the West African pilgrim in the Sudan. This is different from that of the West African in general, and of some significance: whilst attention has frequently been drawn to the West African contribution to the economy of the Sudan, the transitory nature of this population has not been adequately pointed out. For instance, it is possible to give some indication of the degree to which the West African population of Wad Medani is comprised of pilgrims, and is therefore only temporarily resident. About 13 per cent of the sample of pilgrims enumerated in Darfur had lived in Wad Medani (see p.67). This, given an average annual westward flow of pilgrims estimated conservatively at 4,000, would mean that the pilgrim population of Wad Medani turns over by about 480 departures and new arrivals each year; the pilgrim population is thus in a state of 'dynamic equilibrium'. As each pilgrim lives, on average, in Wad Medani for about eight years (see p.72), this would suggest that there is, at any time, a population of about 3,800 pilgrims living in the town. Information from the Sudan Survey Office suggested that the town's total West African population (including pilgrims and permanent residents) was about 4,250 in the late 1960s. This would imply that some 89 per cent of the West African population were pilgrims, and therefore only temporarily resident in the town. Although the estimate of the total population is almost certainly an understatement it is still probably true that, over three quarters of the West African community in Wad Medani are only delaying in transit.

The social and political outlook of a West African community, in which a large percentage of the population expects to stay for only a period of less than ten years, is very different from a more stable community; the implications of this in social and economic terms remain largely unknown.

VII

The Cost and Finance of Overland Pilgrimage

The economics of the pilgrimage have been noted as an influence on routes, as a determinant of the distribution of pilgrims in the Sudan, and as a critical factor behind time taken over pilgrimage. The monetary aspects are now examined in detail, on a micro-level, as they affect individual pilgrims, rather than as a macro-economic problem within the Sudanese economy.

1. *The cost of the pilgrimage*

Pilgrims who set off from West Africa thinking they have enough money to reach Mecca and return consider it as one continuous process. They are a small minority though. Most see pilgrimage in three distinct financial stages; the outward journey; the crossing of the Red Sea to Hijaz and the return to the Sudan; and lastly, the trip back to West Africa along the savannas.

The cost of the journey eastwards The pilgrims' illegal status means that the outward journey is the more expensive. The sample of following pilgrim's expenditure from Kano to the Nile Valley is typical.

	£S (Sudanese pounds)
From Kano to Maidugari	1.00
Maidugari to Fort Lamy	1.25
Fort Lamy to Abeche	2.00
Abeche to Adre	1.00
Adre to Nyala	7.50
Nyala to Wad Medani	3.00
	<hr/> 15.75

The fare for each stage is not directly related to the distance. This is partly a result of *sarkin zongos*' manipulation of fares, but is also a consequence of real economic factors. Taxes, modes of transport used, and border crossings all influence costs. Thus, from Maidugari to Fort Lamy is expensive, although the distance is short, because it involves crossing Cameroun. Adre to Nyala is relatively costly in this case because the respondent entered the Sudan by camel, although some pay more than £S 7.50. Like the majority, he travelled to Wad Medani from Nyala by train (the fare listed includes payment made to an agent who bought the ticket). Other outgoings, not listed, are the cost of a travel permit, valid for

N.B: Throughout this chapter, all prices are given in Sudanese pounds. At the time of fieldwork, £S 1 equalled approximately £1.10 sterling.

entry into Chad, about £S 1.50, and payment for the renting of *zongo* huts, £S 5.75. Food was the only important remaining expense, which he claimed amounted to £S 4. In total, the amount needed per pilgrim from Kano to Wad Medani is about £S 27. A typical pilgrim group of four needs around £S 100 to travel the savannas to the Sudan.

These figures give some impression of the scale of typical expenses, although they can vary greatly. One family, for example, bought a donkey for £S 2.50 in Abeche, which was their last expenditure on transport until they boarded the train near Nyala. Others who walk all the way spend nothing on transport; yet a tailor, his wife and small child from Kano City, arrived at El Geneina penniless, having spent £S 110 *en route*.

The cost of the return journey The return westwards is cheaper, not only because the pilgrims can travel legally, but also because they are more experienced at dealing with *kamusanjis*, and so are charged less exorbitant fares. Occasionally, returning pilgrims benefit from true Muslim charity; the *sarkin zongo* in Abeche for instance sometimes runs a lorry for poor pilgrims on which no fares are charged so they can travel to Fort Lamy free. Pilgrims do encounter some extra expenses going home, notably border dues, and the carriage of family goods which have accumulated in Sudan.

A typical family needs about £S 60 to make the journey from the Niles to Nigeria. Lone pilgrims, with little luggage, need only about £S 11 if they walk stretches between border posts for which lorry fares are expensive. Only the very devout walk all the way back; for most a relatively comfortable homeward journey is an integral part of pilgrimage.

The cost of the visit to the Holy Places from the Sudan The basic cost of pilgrimage from the Sudan at the time of fieldwork was £75 sterling, which includes the Red Sea passages, the return trip from Jiddah to Mecca, and the costs of the rites in Mecca (the ram for ritual slaughter, the hire of a guide, and accommodation). Each pilgrim has to show that he possesses this £75 in sterling (amounting to £S 68) before a Saudi Arabian visa will be granted to him. Above this £S 68, money is needed for passports, fares to the Red Sea ports, health certificates, and food whilst waiting for visas. Thus, in total a pilgrim in the Sudan has to save about £S 90. There are ways of reducing this by being unscrupulous. Pilgrims can borrow sterling for a couple of hours to go through the formalities of gaining a visa, after which they enter Arabia as paupers.

The total cost of overland pilgrimage from Kano is thus about £125 Sudanese per head. It is ironic that at the time of fieldwork an airborne charter pilgrimage from Nigeria only cost about £S 110 per head. In spite of all the hardship undergone, an overland pilgrim pays more to visit the Holy Places than a compatriot who flies.

2. The finance of the pilgrimage

Although some pilgrims may reach the Nile Valley before their funds

expire, many stop and work *en route*. Those who earn in Chad usually work in the towns at tasks including clothes washing, portering, and general urban labouring. Most stay there for only a minimum period and so are penniless on reaching the Sudan. It is from this premise that the finance of pilgrimage is considered.

The employment of the pilgrims in the Sudan Farming was the pilgrims' dominant pursuit; less than 10 per cent interviewed had not farmed regularly. These consisted mainly of urban-dwellers, in the Three Towns and Port Sudan, who were single men. The other non-farmers were beggars who, often old or infirm, gravitate towards the towns in the dry season, but spend the wet season in the larger villages, where charity comes in the way of food rather than cash.

The complexities of share cropping, usufructory rights and wage labouring on farms made it difficult to tell on what basis pilgrims had farmed in the Sudan, so 'farming', as classified in Table VII, includes everyone who worked on the land, even farm labourers.

Of these 'farmers', only 34 per cent claimed to have some other form of employment, a remarkably low figure. It is false to assert that 66% were idle off their farms, but this figure is recorded here because cotton picking is included with farming, whilst house-building, fishing and firewood collection, at which almost all pilgrims work, have been excluded. Graham's figures, giving less than 18 per cent of West Africans unemployed in the dry season, are a better indication (1963; 236).

The largest single category of dry season pilgrim employment is 'General Urban Labouring' which, together with water carrying, portering and carting amounts to nearly one-half of pilgrim dry season employment.

Trading covers a wide spectrum from largescale wholesale dealing, to taking a few tomatoes on a market circuit, and shop-keeping. These activities are held in high esteem by pilgrims, but are limited in scale by the impossibility of their obtaining trading licences. West Africans have a virtual monopoly of native tanning in the Sudan, which survives because the Sudanese will not demean themselves by doing work traditionally associated with the 'Fellata', as the people from the west are disparagingly known. Pilgrims comprise a majority of barbers and manicurists in the Sudan. These pursuits are popular because of the mobility associated with them — the tools of the trade can be put into a bag and produced whenever there is work — and because of the religious aspect of the job (pilgrims have their heads shaved in Mecca). Many learn the trade whilst on pilgrimage.

Conditions in *zongos* mean that standards of behaviour which determine the role of women at home become inapplicable; their normal duties cannot be performed with customary dignity and privacy. Women on pilgrimage often take advantage of this new life style by taking on jobs not normally open to them. However, this must not be overstressed, because the pilgrims, being of the poorer strata of society, do not seclude women to the same degree as the wealthy, even at home.

Women's contributions to pilgrimage finances are limited because the rewards for their labours are often very small. Basketry and mat-making,

Table VII.
THE EMPLOYMENT OF PILGRIMS IN THE SUDAN

<i>Wet season employment</i>	%
Farming	91.7
Other (mainly urban)	8.3
<i>Dry season employment</i>	
Trading	14.5
Shopkeeping	2.3
Tailoring	3.8
Shoemaking	1.8
Urban labouring	18.6
Water carrying	3.1
Heavy portering	13.8
Portering	3.1
Washing	1.8
Domestic service	1.8
Cycle Hire	> 1.0
Carting	> 1.0
Manicuring	2.3
Barbering	4.6
Tanning	1.6
Leatherwork	1.8
Faqis and Religion	9.2
Begging	4.6
Persons who claimed dry season employment	34.2% of total sample

Note: sample number: 471

in large part women's crafts, bring in very low incomes in the Sudan, as shown in Table VIII (p.82). An average income of about ten piastres per day is all that a pilgrim woman can expect, unless she works in the field during the rains, picks cotton, makes beer, or is a prostitute. Their major contribution to the finance of pilgrimage is in helping on the farm of the household head, or occasionally working on farms for cash.

3. Sources of Incomes of the Pilgrims in the Sudan

The Income from Farming Incomes from farming can be divided into two basic categories: those from the sale of crops grown, and those received as payments for wage-labour. Many pilgrims gain an income from both because of the organization of non-irrigated farming in the West African communities.

Pilgrims usually group themselves into units of between five and fifteen people and farm communally. Each member is entitled to have a plot of land communally farmed, provided he works on the plots belonging to the rest of the group. Normally each plot is between four and six mukhamas*

*One mukhamas in Darfur equals 20 x 30 habil. A habil equals five forearms with fingers outstretched. Therefore, one mukhamas equals about 3750 square yards. The measure is slightly smaller in Kordofan.

in area. The communal farming unit does not perform all tasks, but clears the plots, weeds once between the sprouting crop, and harvests it. Details naturally vary, but normally other tasks are carried out individually. The communal tasks with their respective groups take up about three or four days of each pilgrim's week. In their 'free time', pilgrims are able to use their initiative, and so the complexities of the system are introduced.

In their 'free time' some group-members only work enough on the communally prepared plots to ensure the crop's survival. Most pilgrims are, however, prepared to invest greater effort than this in order to increase their income from farming. In their 'free time', therefore, they either attempt to maximise the yield of the crop grown on the communally-prepared plot by farming diligently, with extra labour inputs, or, alternatively, grow another crop on a separate plot by their individual efforts. Others, to offset risks of crop failure and to obtain an immediate income, spend some time wage-labouring on other farms (*Kwadigo* (Hausa), *Yomiyya* (Arabic)).

So important is farming in providing funds for pilgrimage that some specific examples of the various options, and the different incomes accruing from them are considered. Cases are taken from Darfur Province, but a variety of crop types is discussed, giving the data a wide relevance.

Agricultural labouring for cash: Kwadigo Few West African pilgrimages are financed by *kwadigo* alone, but an interview with a pilgrim in Buldonga (see Maps 17 and 18 for locations) shows the income earned by *kwadigo*. There was always enough work to employ him amongst the varied crops, and he was always (like most pilgrims, but in contrast to Chadians and Sudanese) paid on a piece-work basis. Rates of pay (highest in the Nyala area) for weeding a *mukhamas* of tomatoes or peppers were between £S4 — 4.50, and for groundnuts, £S1.60. These vary, but work out to about 90 piastres per day. Over the wet season the pilgrim worked for a total of seventy days, and earned about £S 65, plus some food given free, but against it is set all other expenditure — on agricultural implements, tea, sugar and much of his food. In Tito, the rates of pay were lower, and a pilgrim who worked *kwadigo* for the wet season earned about £S 40.

Much more typical of pilgrims' use of *kwadigo* is a family who arrived at Mogororo at the beginning of the rains *en route* to Id el Ghanam. The family stopped for nine days, supposedly to recuperate, but in fact worked in the fields. Penniless on arrival, they left with £S 8 and a donkey, worth £S 3, which was given to them for work valued at that amount.

Such pilgrims take full advantage of the mobility stemming from not being tied to a particular plot of land which is the main asset of *kwadigo*. This, however, is an advantage which is dearly paid for in terms of return for efforts expended.

Cash crop farming without the use of paid labour This is the basis of the finance of the majority of pilgrimages. Revenue from a season's farming varies according to weather, soils, and the skill of the farmer, but a pilgrim

interviewed in Tito is not atypical. Groundnuts were his only cash crop. When interviewed, he was farming his fourth rainy season having spent the dry seasons in Nyala; the record of his farming illustrates the financing of pilgrimage by growing ground nuts.

Each season the pilgrim, with a communal working party, farmed five *mukhamas* of groundnuts. He weeded the plot diligently rather than expand its area, whilst his wife worked a separate plot of *dukni* (millet). The first crop of 51 *guntars** was sold for £S 60, most of which was profit. The second year he farmed five *mukhamas*, in virgin bush but, in spite of better fertility, a reduced crop of 49 *guntars* resulted. The third rainy season he farmed the same plot, and harvested a bumper crop of 109 *guntars*, which sold for almost £S 130. He was able to make the *hajj* with his wife and after the 1972 rains was planning to return to Nigeria.

In Zalingei, pilgrims grow grain as their cash crop, making less use of communal working groups. One pilgrim interviewed had arrived early in the rains five years previously and earned enough to buy some seed by working *kwadigo*, after which he and his family grew four *mukhamas* of *dukni*. He farmed the same four *mukhamas* in subsequent years, obtaining yields of between twelve and twenty sacks,† giving an average income of about £S 70 per annum, typical for diligent *dukni* growing.

Thus farmers selling their own crops can earn substantially more in a wet season than those who work on others' farms for wages. It is this differential that causes so few pilgrimages to be financed by *kwadigo* alone.

Cash crop farming using paid labour Some better-off pilgrims interviewed employed paid labour on their farms. One such lived in Kunduah. Apart from six *mukhamas* of groundnuts which he worked himself, he was farming eleven *mukhamas* of *dukni* by the use of paid labour. All agreed that about forty sacks of grain would be forthcoming. The costs involved are listed below.

Cost of:	£S (Sudanese pounds)
Sowing	4
Weeding	23
	<hr/> 27 already spent
Harvesting	3
Threshing	9
	<hr/> £S 39

No initial clearing of the land had been necessary; harvesting was to be done by young girls; threshing at £S 9 includes wages and a ram to be slaughtered. By waiting for the immediate post-harvest glut to subside, and selling in the following April, the pilgrim hoped to sell the crop for about

*One *guntar* equals approximately 100 lbs.

†In contrast to ground nuts, *dukni* is sold by the sack in Darfur, which equals about 110 lbs, i.e., slightly more than a *guntar*.

£S 65. This would result in a profit of over £S 25. Such entrepreneurial activities in farming can substantially increase a pilgrim's income, but many were quick to point out that such ventures meant putting at risk money that was otherwise safely in 'the pilgrimage fund'.

Pilgrims' dry season incomes The most important dry season activity of pilgrims is cotton picking, but this is described in other works (e.g. Shaw, 1968), and it is sufficient here to refer only to incomes. These are substantially lower than can be earned by farm labourers in Darfur, though this is compensated for by the fact that women and children can also work. At the time of field work, pilgrim cotton pickers in the Gezira were earning between 65 and 80 piastres per day at the height of the season, against which expenses of everyday living, and transport costs within the Gezira are set.

Few other dry season occupations give a comparable income. The wages accruing from some typical dry season West African occupations are listed in Table VIII. Only a general impression of incomes can be given, as regional, temporal, and individual variations are great. For example, in the early dry season in Nyala, West African porters can earn over £S 2 per day; wages are high because of the limited numbers able to do the gruelling work. However, in the wet season they are completely unemployed for weeks and, when employed, may receive less than 30 piastres per day.

Few pilgrims, however, can obtain regular remunerative jobs in towns. They are usually employed as 'odd job men', with irregular payments. Better tasks are only obtained by those who reside in a town long enough to gain local contacts through whom work can be obtained.

The pilgrim in a town finds himself discriminated against by the local Sudanese, and disapproved of by many resident West Africans. His illegal status further hampers efforts to obtain work, for even water carrying requires a permit. Thus many pilgrims, even if aided by *sarkin zongos*, are unable to find urban work. Furthermore, any money earned tends to dissipate quickly with the high costs of urban living: expensive food, *zongo* rents, charcoal, etc. That it takes considerable time to accumulate funds in urban centres is shown by the difficulties that pilgrims working in towns meet in trying to save fares for the next stage of their journey.

Thus, overland pilgrimages are mainly financed by revenue from farming. In spite of the fact that West Africans are involved in a wide spectrum of economic activity in the Sudan, the majority of pilgrims gain most of their revenue from agricultural pursuits. It is because of this that the pilgrims do not view dry season activity in the same way as they do farming.

The pilgrims are prepared to work in the towns during the dry season for wages that are a pittance — far below the West African's average urban income in the Sudan — because they do not consider dry season earnings as a separate and worthwhile income, but as a small incoming flow of cash that helps offset everyday expenses, and so slows the rate of depletion of the money earned by farming. Pilgrims, then, are not drawn to Sudanese towns in the dry season in order to earn large wages, exploiting the

Table VIII.
DAILY RATES OF PAY FOR VARIOUS DRY SEASON EMPLOYMENTS
OF WEST AFRICANS IN DARFUR

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Average remuneration Piastres per day</i>
Urban: Portering (heavy work)	80
Portering (light work)	25
Clothes-washing	45
Water carrying	40
Barbering	45-50
Manicuring	10-15
Rural: Basketry	10
Ropemaking	15
Matmaking	10
Tanning	50
Leatherworking	40-50
Begging	5-35*
Odd-jobbing, e.g. Fencing, small house repairs	15
Watering gardens: lifting water	35
diverting water	5
Trading: Madamas (cooked peanuts)	5
Small market circuit	50
Lorry-market circuit	120
Large shop	150

*Much more than this can be 'earned' by begging in the Three Towns, Wad Medani and Port Sudan.

differential between urban and rural wage levels, but are driven from the rural areas by a complete lack of work, in order to find some small income. Only a few pilgrims, with the most sought-after skills, hope to accumulate capital by working in the towns.

Social pressure is also an important factor in the pilgrims' desire to work in the dry season, even if only for a pittance: 'All Hausa are brought up in the belief that they should have some regular profitable occupation in the dry season' (Graham, 1963; 247-8). If a pilgrim is to be taken seriously by his fellows, he must work or at least seek occupation in the dry season, because only by appearing industrious can a pilgrim protect his social standing.

The agricultural basis of pilgrim finance is shown by pilgrims' equating the possibilities of departure to Mecca with the success or failure of the harvest: the £S 90 needed can be obtained by the sale of one good harvest. The fact that the income from farming comes in one lump sum makes it especially suitable for finance of pilgrimage, for they are able to depart even if they become short of money later in the year.

Thus, in spite of the renown of West Africans as active dry season workers, and their importance in Sudanese towns, their pilgrimages are

financed largely by farming. It is difficult for pilgrims to even make ends meet in an urban environment. Dry season pilgrim activity can only help to preserve accumulated funds, and this is seen as its purpose.

VIII

Some Pilgrim Case Histories

These are included to represent various aspects of overland pilgrimage and because, as type-examples, they are in themselves interesting in portraying how individuals fared within the system of movement described. These case histories also cast a human perspective on the process of pilgrimage, illustrative of individual motives, and of the hardship and difficulties endured by the faithful.

1. *Pilgrims returning westwards*

Musa, a Hausa from Demegaram, had set off eastwards with deliberate intent to make the pilgrimage, which was 'one of the most important desires of his life'. He was interviewed in Nyala, 14 years after leaving home with his wife, her father and their first born child. Although Musa had been planning to make the pilgrimage since before marriage — it was almost a condition of his wedding that he should take his father-in-law to Mecca — the immediate cause of their departure was Musa's breaking his thumb, which meant he could not continue working as a porter in the groundnut markets.

They travelled eastwards legally, having previously obtained passports in Niamey, until they reached Adre. There they took camels into the Sudan, avoiding El Geneina, and then a lorry to the Gezira. After four years' work in the irrigated area, Musa and his father-in-law went to Mecca, his wife staying in their village of adoption, with their children (now two daughters and a son). After the return of Musa and the old man to the Gezira they set off homewards, reaching El Fasher before exhausting their funds, where they settled to farm for a wet season.

Musa's farming was not successful, and he could not find remunerative dry season employment, so after three years in El Fasher they moved to Nyala in search of greater prosperity. Shortly after arriving at the railhead Musa's father-in-law died. He had been ill for some time, and a hindrance to the family's travelling. Musa's determination to return to Niger increased.

Finances remained a problem, however, for although employed in Nyala as a porter, Musa could not save enough money to pay for the journey westwards. In the wet season of 1972 he gave up portering to farm groundnuts. Although this was only the second time he had farmed since entering the Sudan, his crop was successful, and by December 1972 he had departed westwards, hoping to arrive back in his home village about two months later.

Musa illustrates how pilgrims are better considered 'lingerers' than settlers, and how advantageous a method of earning money to pay for fares cash-crop farming is. Though Musa saved for several years whilst working in El Fasher, and later in Nyala, it was the lump payment, on the sale of this groundnut crop, that enabled him to depart.

Ibrahim — a Kanuri from near Maidugari — was interviewed in El Geneina. He had left his home village 53 years previously as a teenager, travelling by camel to Khartoum via Sodiri. Arriving at the Niles at the correct time of year, they made the pilgrimage within three months of entering the Sudan.

On departing Hijaz, where the family had lived for a short time, they moved to the Gedaref Area, then largely a 'wasteland'. After seventeen years there, during which time his parents died, and he married a girl — also from Bornu — Ibrahim moved westwards, because of his 'increasing dissatisfaction with the Sudan', a feeling that it was time to rejoin his relatives, whom he had recently heard were not visiting him as he has expected, and the recommendation of a *faqi* that it was 'a suitable time'. Travelling by rail and road, they were delayed in El Geneina by the early onset of the rains.

He settled to farm the wet season and opened a shop, selling goods brought from the east. He was successful, and so decided to stay in El Geneina for another wet season, during which Ibrahim helped several less fortunate pilgrims on their way. This, together with his success as a trader, meant he achieved considerable status within the then quite small West African community.

Each dry season for several years Ibrahim intended to depart westwards, but procrastinated. Eventually, after seven or eight years, he became resigned to staying in El Geneina: he was of a social station there which he could not attain in West Africa, and had considerable capital invested in the area.

Helping pilgrims passing through El Geneina, he became known as a *sarkin zongo*. As pilgrims began to enter the Sudan illegally, Ibrahim profited considerably from their movements, the more so since he dealt with many Bornu pilgrims, who have a greater language difficulty than most.

Now, making a good living, Ibrahim says he will never move. His *zongo* provides him with a fortunate social position and connections with his homeland, which compensate for his not having returned to Nigeria.

Mallam Bello, like many pilgrims, was a Hausa from near Kano. A middle-aged household head, Bello had two wives and some nine children. Predominantly a farmer, he also traded in and repaired bicycles. Bello departed eastwards on pilgrimage with three others from the same village, but left his elder wife, his two oldest sons, and all his daughters at home, taking only his more recent wife, her baby, and two unmarried teenage sons.

They travelled by bus to Maidugari, where Bello waited for exit papers, rather than travel on illegally. The others continued, crossing the borders by dug-out canoe, and entered Chad with little delay. Bello and his family followed some weeks later and caught up with them in a Fort Lamy *zongo*. About a month later, they all continued eastwards, until Bello's money ran out in Adre, where the other travellers from his village paid for his family to continue to Nyala by lorry. In Nyala they split up; those with money boarded the train. Bello and his family began walking eastwards along the tracks.

A rainy season was spent in southern Kordofan, and nine months after departure, Bello rejoined the others in the Rahad valley. After three years' farming there he had saved enough to enable his and his wife's pilgrimages. They stayed about six months in the Hijaz, whilst his sons continued working in Gedaref. He then returned to the River Rahad and continued the same way of life.

After another eighteen months, the family departed westwards, expecting to reach home in about six weeks. He was interviewed leaving the Sudan from El Geneina. One of the sons was staying in Sudan to earn money for gifts for people in Nigeria, having found work on the lorries. Bello had heard from home whilst in the Sudan, and knew that his elder wife was well and had been faithful to him. He wished to make another pilgrimage, but thought it would be by air; he did not wish to endure the hardships of prolonged overland travel a second time.

Abbeker's home was near Gusau, on the River Sokoto. Prior to his departure on pilgrimage he worked in bottling factories in Ghana and near Lagos. Abbeker departed with his wife and brother by lorry to Abeche, where they stayed for about three weeks, during which time the wife found a job as an 'assistant maid' to an expatriate household — she spoke a little French, having worked in Niamey for some years. Although her wages were good, Abbeker's impatience to move on eastwards before the rains meant that she only received two weeks' pay.

The trio entered the Sudan through El Geneina, avoided the quarantine, and were attracted to Khartoum by the possibility of working in another bottling factory. In fact Abbeker had no special qualifications, only ever having been a labourer. Consequently, the only employment he could find was as night watchman, whilst his wife took in washing. After living in Esh Esh for about two years, the group departed together on pilgrimage.

Less than a year after visiting Mecca, they left Khartoum, but on arrival at Nyala they met a relative. Although a chance meeting, they stayed over six months in Nyala, living in Hillat el Jebel and working in the town. They were interviewed in El Geneina, sitting amongst several hundredweight of luggage, mainly gifts for relatives in the west.

Abbeker had not needed the money earned in Nyala; this shows how important meeting relatives is to some of the pilgrims. Time spent 'visiting relatives' is not, however, spent idly — after a short break, nearly all visitors try and find employment, and earn extra funds.

2. Pilgrims travelling eastwards towards the Niles

Abdarachman was interviewed in Ardamatta Prison (El Geneina), having been arrested for entering the Sudan illegally. A farmer and hatter, he was travelling with his wife and their first child, and they were making the pilgrimage in consequence of the death of Abdarachman's father. Links between death and departure on pilgrimage seem common but are not clear: Abdarachman's pilgrimage was perhaps 'in the spirit of his father'.

Leaving home after the rains, they travelled directly to Maidugari where,

bribing officials, they procured travel documents for entry into Chad. Having little money they settled in Fort Lamy for about two months where Abdarachman worked as a labourer and in the evenings made hats. His wife sold roast peanuts, embroidered handkerchiefs and edged materials by hand. In Abeche they again ran out of money, having been charged exorbitant fares. He again worked as a hatter, and then on farms as a wage-labourer. He did not farm himself because he wished to travel on eastwards as soon as the road re-opened, usually before the harvest.

From Adre they walked through the bush, with a guide, to El Geneina, where they stayed in an urban *zongo*. Abdarachman entered El Geneina because his wife's foot had become badly septic, swollen, and painful: she was unable to walk. Red hot irons were applied. On departing the *zongo*, walking across the wadi to the Nyala road, they were arrested and after six days in confinement were taken back to Adre under a deportation order.

It was easier to return to El Geneina than to travel westwards to Abeche, so his family re-crossed the border, re-entering El Geneina only two days after they were deported. They again entered the town for they were in need of food and charity, and his wife was walking with difficulty. Whilst his wife hid, Abdarachman went to the market to see what he could earn and beg, but was again arrested and imprisoned.

He was to be deported again after a short sentence, but since his wife was still in El Geneina, Abdarachman was planning to return to the Sudan immediately after his release to find her. On reunion, they would press on eastwards again.

The more he endured, the more determined he became to make the pilgrimage. Abdarachman's case shows the futility of deporting pilgrims to Adre. Abeche, being so far to the west (100 miles), together with the difficulty pilgrims find in earning in Adre, mean that many have little choice but to return to El Geneina after deportation.

Shehu had made a previous pilgrimage overland in the 1950s, entirely legally, utilising the lorry-services then in existence. He was a Fulani barber-faki, from Hadeija, and because of his previous pilgrimage and repute as producer of charms, was of some renown amongst the West Africans in the Sudan.

He embarked upon a second pilgrimage on remarrying a young wife whom he wished to take to the Holy Places. It is possible that the desire for a child lay behind this. She may have been infertile, or he too old; Shehu had about twelve children from previous wives.

Apart from a slight delay to add Asha, the new wife, to his passport, they travelled directly to Adre, and took camels which connected with a lorry to Nyala. The couple boarded the train at Nyala without any problems. In Esh Esh, Shehu met with many of his old friends, and was quickly established as a barber and Koranic teacher. Then the Khartoum police raided Esh Esh. Shehu was arrested with his wife, and they were deported to Adre.

They chose to travel southwards to Mogororo with a donkey given to them in Adre (a result of Shehu's being known there), but whilst *en route*

with a large group of deportees they were set upon by bandits. Shehu's exhortations, as leader of the pilgrim band, meant that they were left their beasts of burden and water bags, but lost all valuables and documents. The bandits did, however, issue the pilgrims with a document of safe passage, written by the leader of the robbers, which was to prove of value when the pilgrims were accosted by more bandits. Only this guarantee of a safe passage prevented their taking Shehu's very attractive wife with them, although they did take his donkey this time. Numerous such incidents are described by travellers using the Wadi Saleh routeway.

When interviewed, Shehu and his wife had reached Bindisi (Map 17) where he was making a meagre living teaching some of the villagers to write, so they might fill in their own forms to apply for Saudi Arabian visas (almost every facet of their lives can be related to pilgrimage). Shehu was thoroughly disheartened. The rains were threatening; soon the roads in southern Darfur would be closed and he could earn little in a wet season in the Wadi Saleh, being too unfit to farm a large plot.

However, the fortunes of his group of deportees were to change. One of the last lorries out of the Wadi Saleh took all the West Africans in Bindisi who wished to travel to Nyala, where they were in receipt of enough charity to move on almost directly to Ed Daein. Their resolve had been strengthened and they pressed on eastwards.

Other pilgrims endure a great deal more hardship, walking all the way, deliberately shunning modern transport. Osman was one such pilgrim.

The author was camping by the roadside near Zalingei, waiting for a lorry. At about 10.00 p.m. a voice called from outside the firelight. On being invited closer, into the warmth of the fire, the caller proved to be a pilgrim walking to Nyala. He had eaten nothing and drunk only little for about thirty-six hours, and consumed much tea, water, bread and stew before breaking into prolonged prayer which lasted until dawn except for an interlude of about an hour.

Osman had walked from Kano, over 1,000 miles from Zalingei, in four months. He had departed with no money, carried no food, water, nor a blanket, and was dressed in rags. In Massacory, Chad, Osman had been given a donkey, which he in turn gave away to 'a poor villager' shortly afterwards. Osman had little comprehension of visas and related problems, and said in all earnestness that if it were impossible to board a boat, then he would swim the Red Sea to Hijaz.

His pilgrimage was made all the more remarkable by the fact that he was badly deformed; his back was bent double and twisted sideways, and the movement of one leg was impaired; Osman could only hobble, having contracted meningitis some years ago.

He left shortly after dawn after being given more tea, some dried bread, and cash to aid him on the road. The following evening, a Chadian travelling westwards by camel arrived at the camp, which had only moved a few miles down the road, no lorry having come. Earlier in the day he had met Osman, and had stopped to talk with him. On parting Osman had pressed upon him the cash that he had been given earlier that day; so

strict were his vows of poverty whilst performing the pilgrimage, that he did not keep one single piastre.

Whilst Osman's story is an extreme example, it does show how far the motives and scales of values of pilgrims can be removed from those easily understood in modern, western society.

IX Pilgrim Routes and Settlement in Darfur Province

The transit of pilgrims was studied in detail in Darfur Province. Examination of the movements showed that passage of pilgrims determined the nature of the sedentary West African communities in the Province, the character of these settlements being largely a consequence of their function within the pilgrimage. Developing this theme makes it apparent that the whole pattern and history of West African settlement is dependent upon the pilgrimage.

1. The numbers and distribution of West Africans in Darfur

According to the Population Census, there were 95,208 West Africans in the Province in 1955/6, about one-fifth of the total in the Sudan. Table IX and Map 16 show their numbers and distribution. The pattern of West Africans in Darfur appears to be contrary to previous generalisations, (see p.62), the greatest numbers occurring in the extreme north and south. In the south, in Nyala Baggara West Census Area, almost one-quarter of the population is of West African origin. Twenty-five thousand West Africans were recorded in Kutum District, a large number to be living on the desert fringe; even in the south, rainfall is insufficient for ground nut farming. Intensive local enquiries suggest there never was such a West African population in the area. The figure seems to be an error in the Census, problems of sampling being compounded by a mistake in recording the data.*

Only in this case was the Census very inaccurate regarding the West African population in Darfur. However, as the West Africans are grouped into small concentrations, which had recently changed in distribution, an up-to-date survey of West Africans in Darfur was essential if the impact of the pilgrims was to be evaluated.

A survey of West Africans in Darfur This was effected by travelling widely in the Province, visiting and cataloguing villages with West African populations, their house compounds being counted in the field and on aerial photographs. This proved relatively easy; most villages were small, and quarters occupied by ethnic groups easily distinguishable. In the towns, both counting and distinction of tribal areas were more difficult, but relatively recent air photographs were available as an aid.

The number of persons per compound was calculated from a sample of sixty-nine households. There are seasonal, tribal and regional variations: the Kanuri live in larger household units than the Hausa, and El Geneina has a lower number of persons per compound than does the rapidly-growing

*Thanks are due to H.R.J. Davies for ideas on this problem.

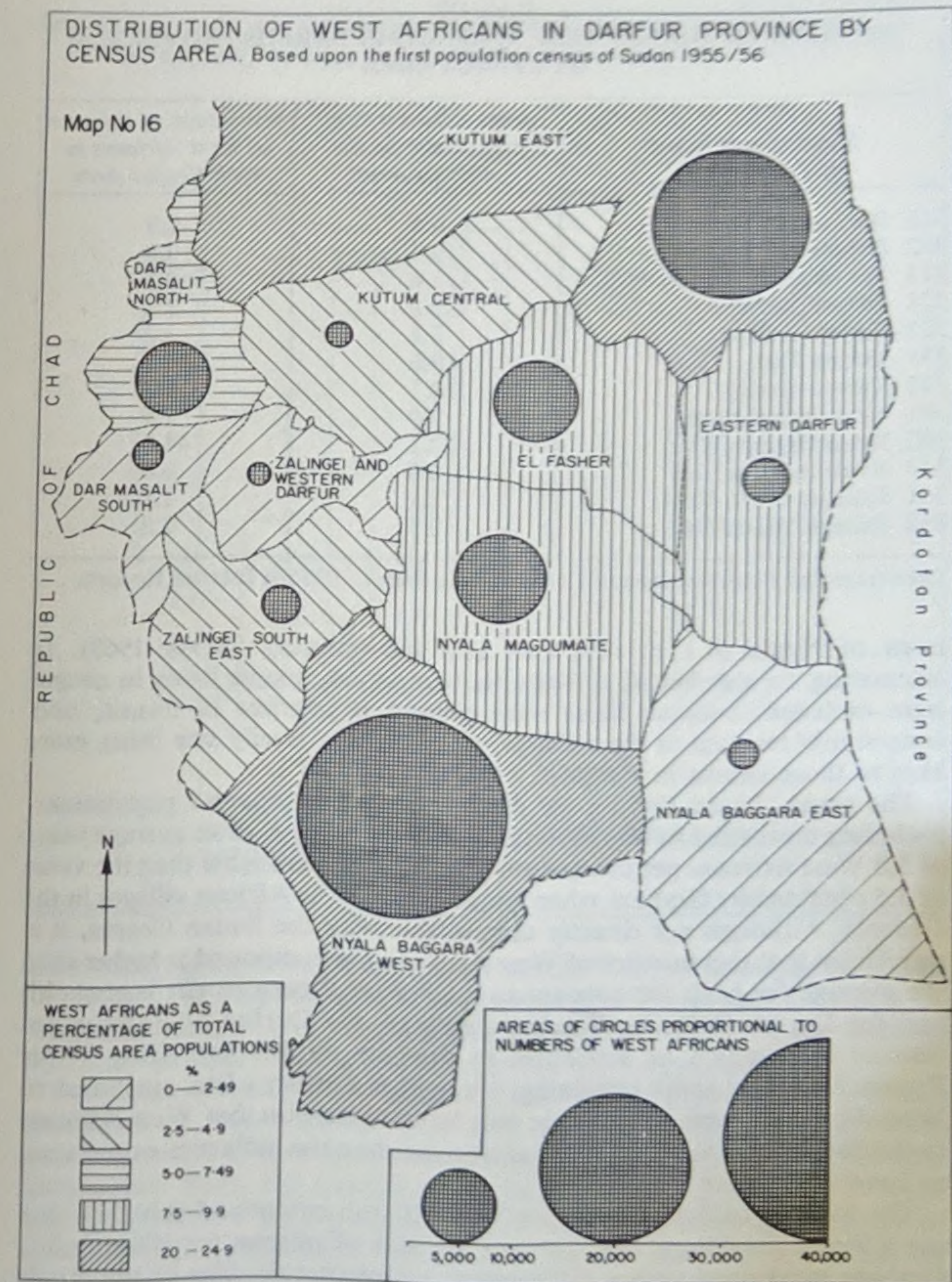


Table IX.
THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEST AFRICANS IN DARFUR PROVINCE:
BY CENSUS AREA

Number and Name of Census Area	West Africans as a percentage of the Census Area	Percentage of the total of West Africans in each Census Area
311 Dar Masalit North	4.5	6.9
312 Dar Masalit South	0.4	0.8
313 Dar Masalit "Non-Voters"	1.6	>0.1
321 Central Darfur	5.8	7.2
322 Eastern Darfur	6.1	3.2
331 Kutum East	19.6	24.5
332 Kutum Centre	10.1	1.2
341 Nyala Magdumate	7.0	7.4
342 Nyala Baggara West	22.1	44.1
343 Nyala Baggara East	0.6	0.8
351 Zalingel North West	1.1	1.1
352 Zalingel North East	2.5	2.8

Data from the First Population Census of the Sudan, 1955/6 Interim Reports.

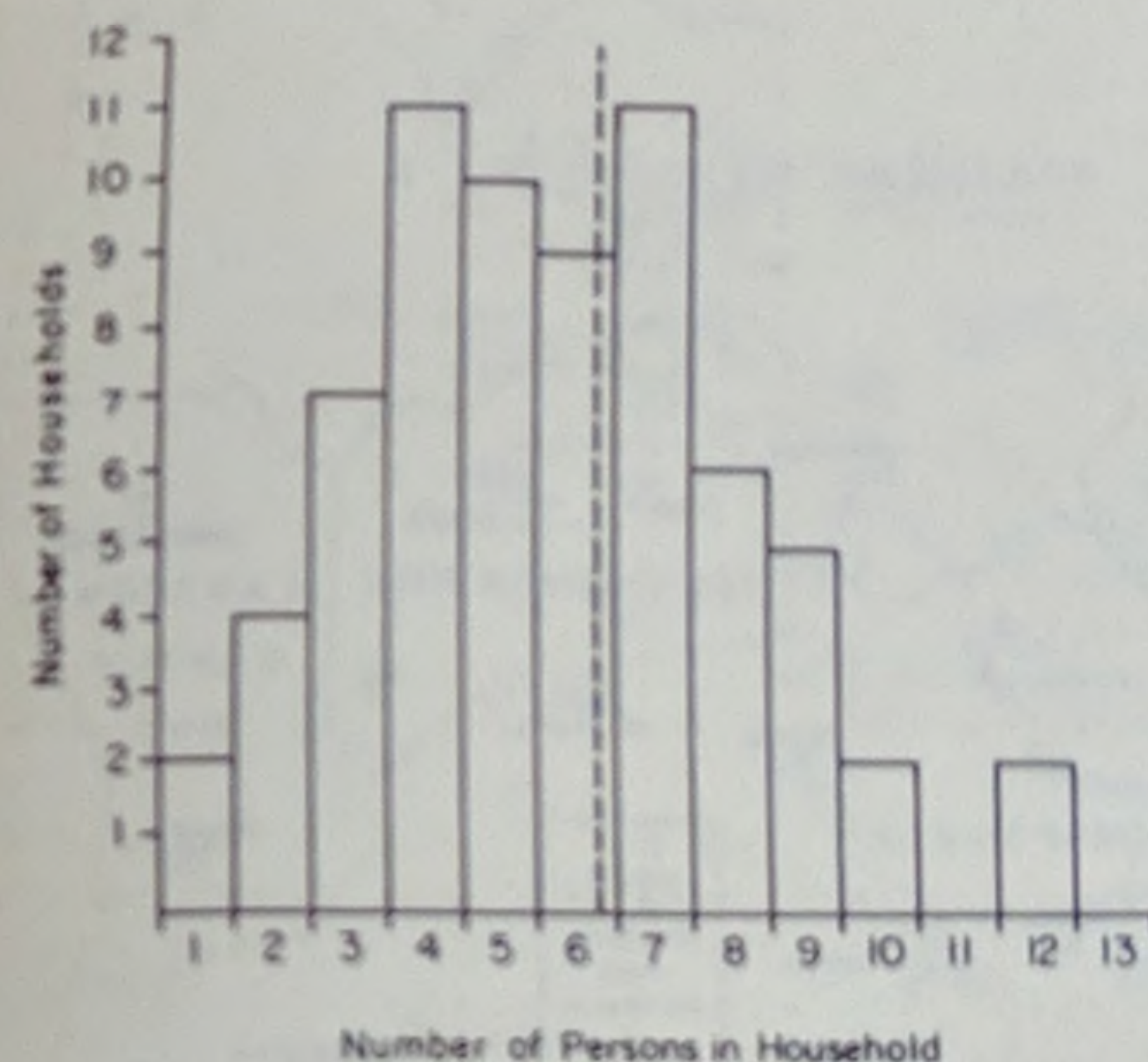
town of Nyala (4.1 to 4.9) (see also the Housing Survey 1963). In calculating the number of persons per compound, people living in *zongos* were excluded, because these were groups of pilgrims in transit, only temporarily resident in the villages, their average family size being more akin to those shown in Figure 1.

The result, based upon a *de facto* count of compound populations, excluding unweaned babies to simplify enumeration, gave an average value of 5.8 West Africans per compound (Fig. V) — rather higher than the value of 5.5 obtained by Graham when enumerating West African villages in the Gedaref. Although not directly comparable with the Sudan Census, it is significant that this number of West Africans per compound is higher than the average for both the country as a whole (5.0 persons per household) and for Darfur (4.0). As Wachter remarks, the Darfur figure is exceptionally low, which he attributes to the low fertility prevailing in the Province. By the same reasoning, the higher fertility often attributed to West Africans seems to be borne out. So the assertion that West Africans in the Sudan have a greater natural increase than the indigenes would seem to have some basis.

The average of 5.8 persons per West African compound is higher than the 4.9 persons comprising 'the average size of pilgrim travelling units'. Graham mentioned such a differential, saying that the size of the family unit amongst the migrants was smaller because the pilgrims were only accompanied by 'their closest relatives' (1963; 151).

There were ninety-two West African villages of more than ten compounds in Darfur at the time of field work (see Maps 17 and 18). The villages are all geographically distinct, and are discrete units by other criteria, each having a *zawiyya* (*tariqa* mosque), meeting place or market,

Fig. V. AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD UNIT OF SETTLED WEST AFRICANS LIVING IN DARFUR PROVINCE



AVERAGE VALUE = 5.8 PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD
SAMPLE No. 69

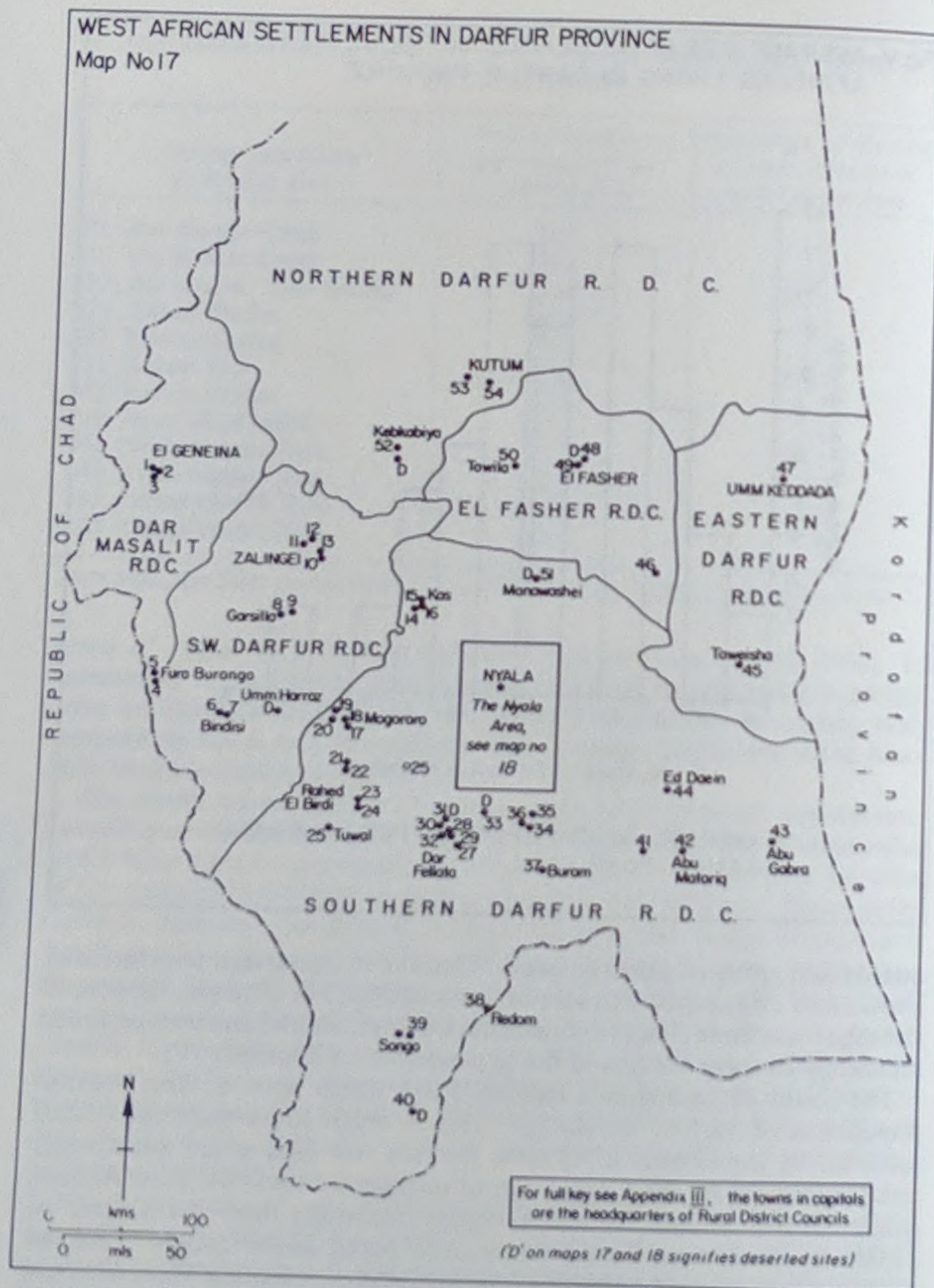
and sheikh, group of elders or *imam*. Thus the West African population of a town may be grouped into several communities. For example, those in El Geneina form three clearly defined communities, which have been recorded separately as three villages in the appended list. (Appendix IV).

The count of compounds totalled 5,233 which gives a West African population of 35,436 for Darfur. This is much lower than the 95,000 recorded by the Census in 1955/6. But the two figures are not directly comparable. First, the Census figure includes nomads of West African origin, of which there are about 40,000. Secondly, there is the error of 25,000 in the Kutum East Census Area noted above (p.90). Thus an amended census based estimate of the numbers of sedentary West Africans in Darfur in 1956 would have been below 30,000. The present survey's figure of 35,000 West Africans thus indicates an increase over the past two decades.

Urban West Africans may, however, be under-represented in the present survey: some will not admit to their origins, especially in El Fasher, where those who entered the town before the Turkiyya are accepted as Arabs.

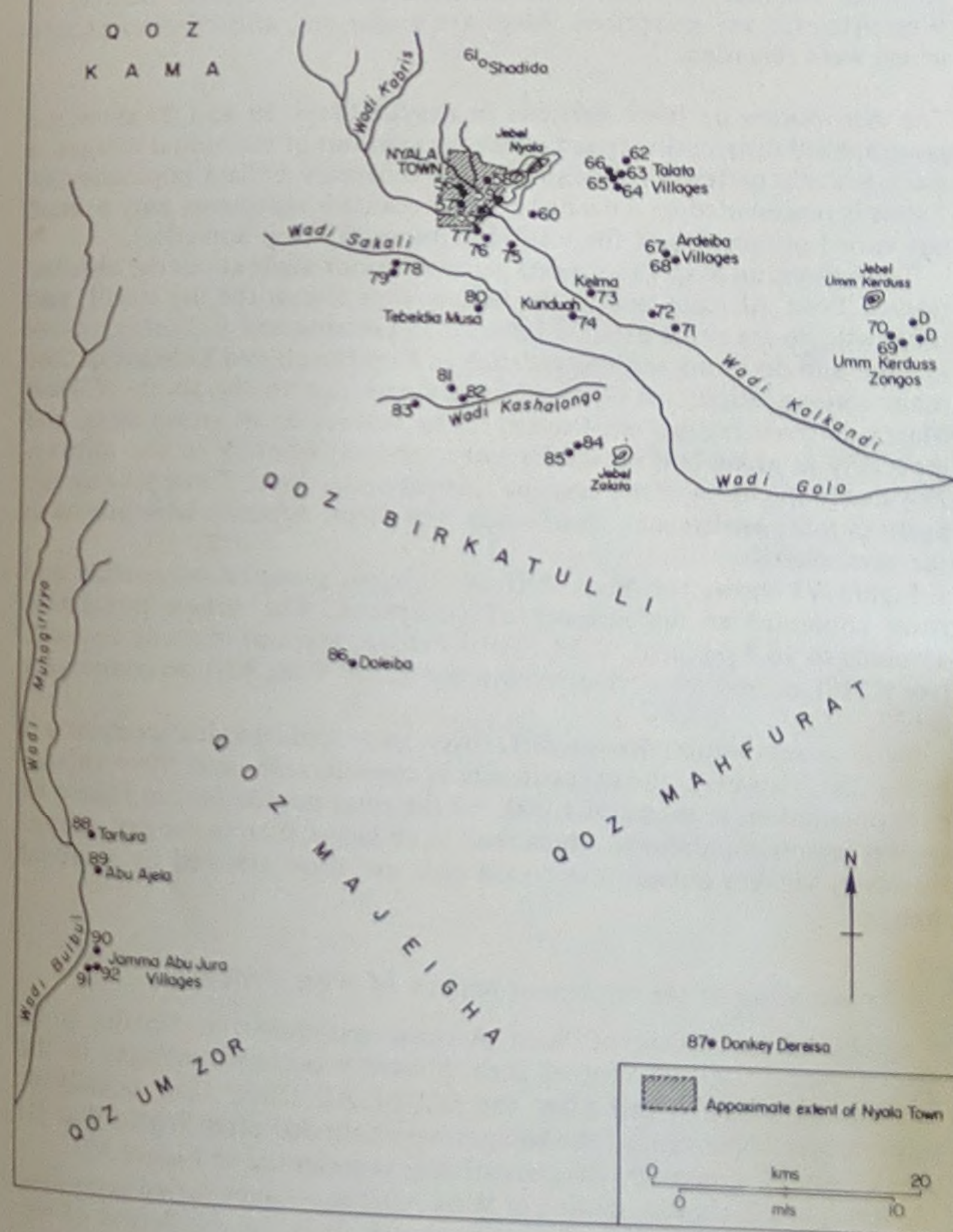
WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS IN DARFUR PROVINCE

Map No 17



WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS in the NYALA AREA (For Key see Appendix III)

Map No 18



Similarly, West Africans in Durti in El Geneina claim to be Sudanese. This error detracts little from the overall result though, as outside the towns the survey is more accurate, for tribal identities remain distinct. A few scattered sedentary families went unenumerated, but isolated families of West Africans are exceptions. Most are gregarious, clustering in groups which were recorded.

The distribution of West Africans in Darfur Maps 19 and 20 show the geographical distribution based on the populations of individual villages, a more realistic pattern than Map 16. The sedentary Fellata population of Tullus is represented by a dashed circle, because it represents only a small but varied proportion of the total, the majority being nomads.

The pattern on Map 19 supports generalisations made about the distribution of West Africans within the Sudan. Few live in the dry north, and those who do are either urban dwellers in El Geneina and El Fasher, or live in relict and declining settlements such as Fata Bornu and Kebkabiya. The main concentrations of West Africans occur just to the south of Jebel Marra, in those regions most suited to the cultivation of groundnuts, and especially in areas best served by lorry services tributary to the railway. Few live to the south of the savanna rain-cropping zone. Those who do are again in relict settlements, from which most West Africans have moved to the savannas.

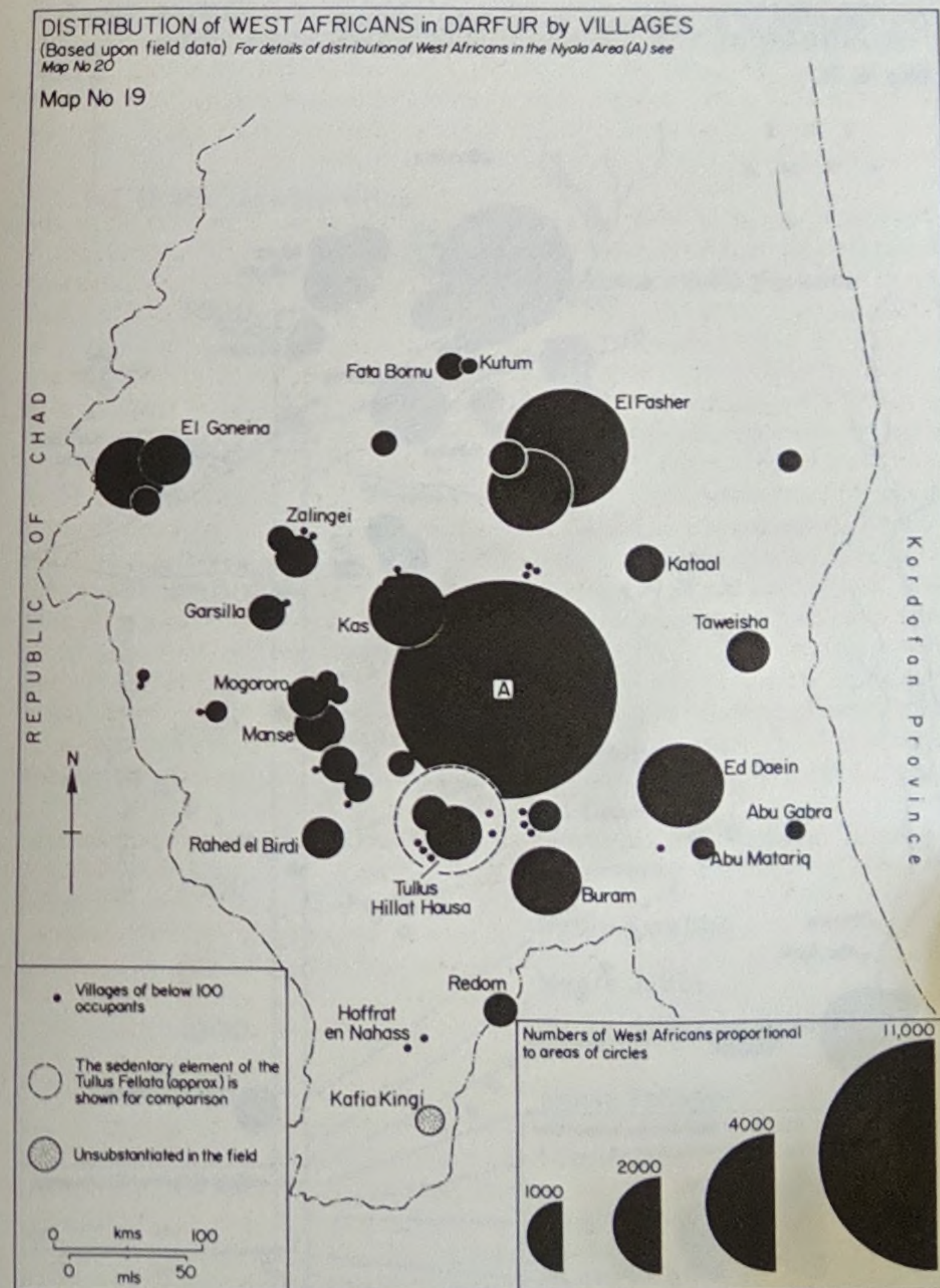
Figure VI shows the West African Villages, grouped into urban and rural communities, by number of occupants. The urban population amounts to 36.7 per cent. If El Fasher Fellata, atypical in many respects, (see p.119), are excluded, then the average size of West African community is 637.

Rural communities are smaller, over two-thirds having populations below 250. However, the range in size is considerable, and three villages have populations in excess of 1,000. All the rural populations in Figure VI are wet season populations, which tend to be larger than in the dry season. However, villages outside the Nyala area are little affected by seasonal changes.

2. The evolution of the settlement pattern of West Africans

A notable characteristic of West African settlement in Darfur is its recency. Almost 90 per cent of their presently occupied villages in the Province were established after the fall of Ali Dinar, i.e. post-1916. Furthermore, 55 per cent of the villages were founded after World War II. Dates of establishment are diagrammatically represented in Figure VII.

As time passed, the distribution of West African villages varied according to the prevailing important pilgrimage routes. It is the oscillation of the major pilgrimage routes to the north and south, rather than secondary dispersion from established settlements, that has brought about the spread of West Africans latitudinally across the Province. This is shown by the fact that, excluding the Nyala area, where the railway has introduced new factors, 63% of West African villages were founded by pilgrims, as distinct



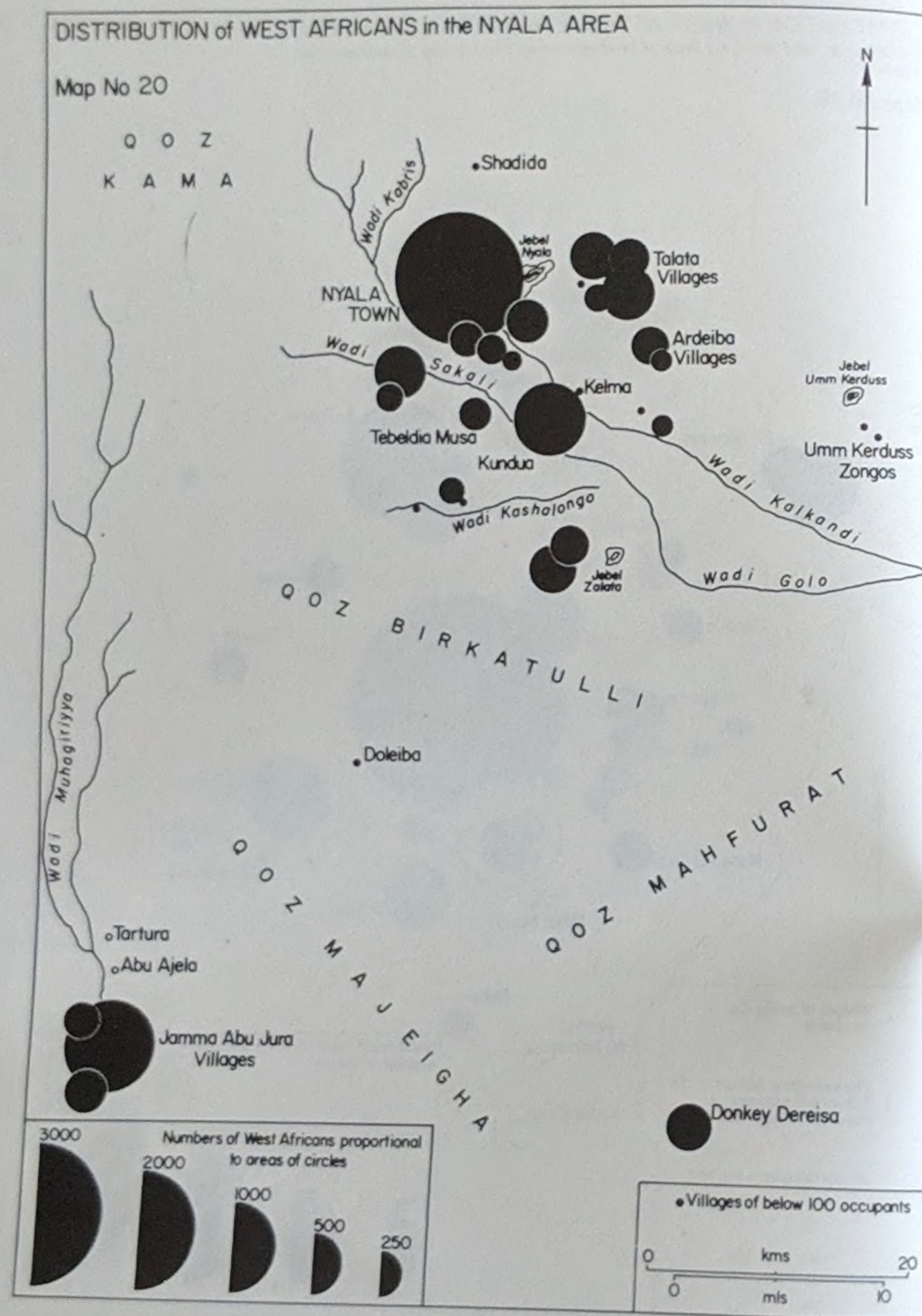


Fig VI NUMBERS OF OCCUPANTS OF RURAL AND URBAN WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN DARFUR PROVINCE

(a) Urban Communities

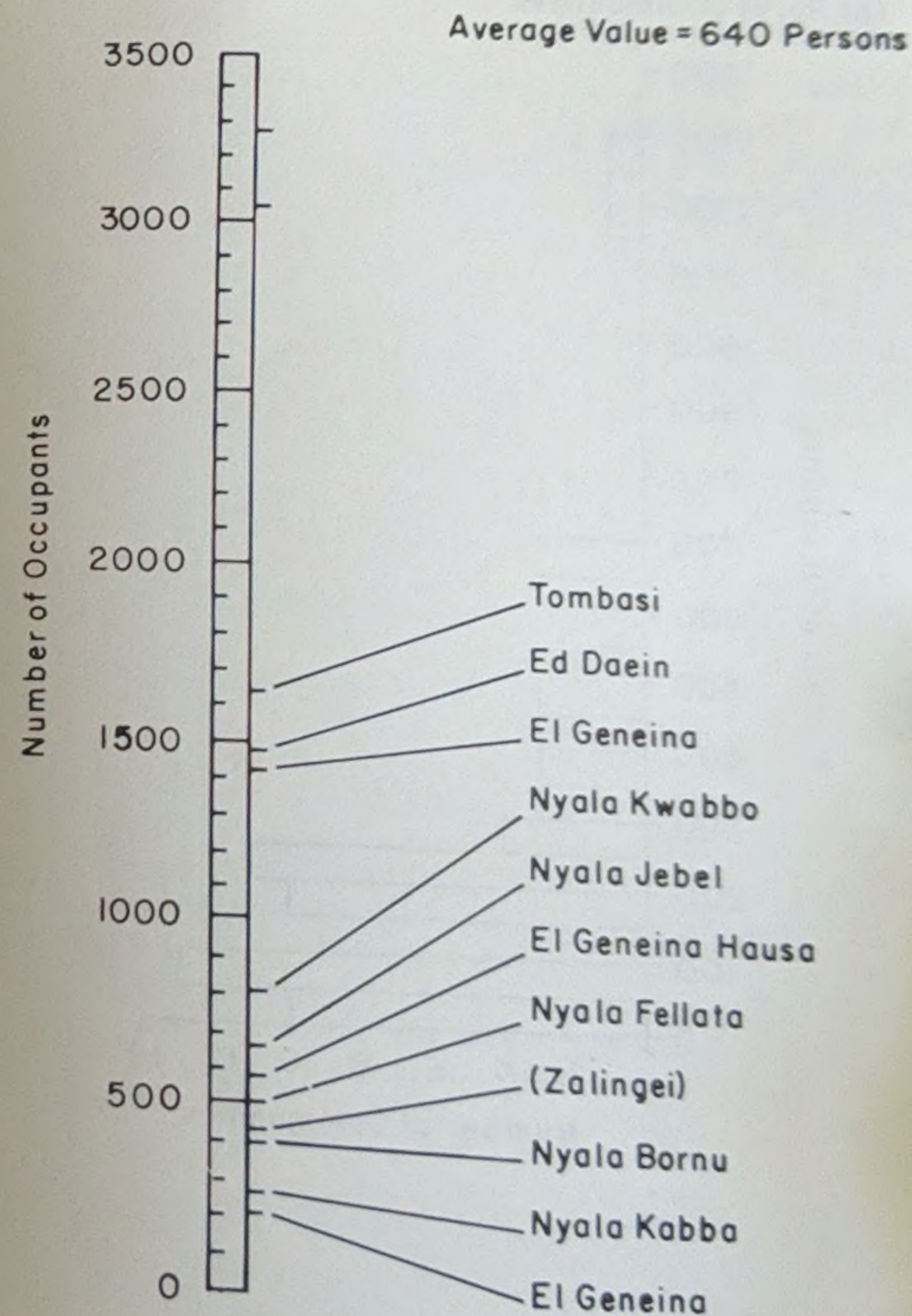
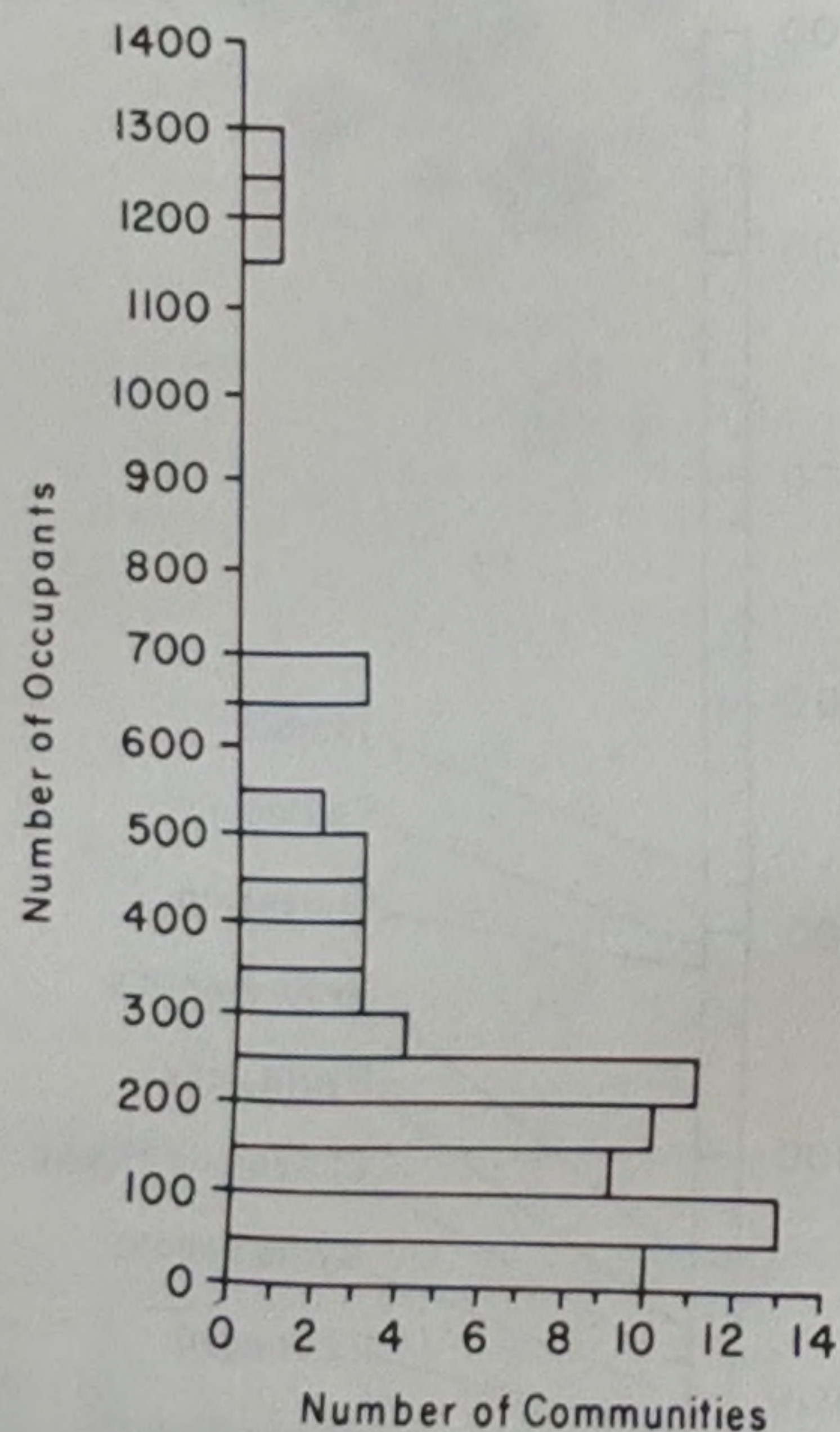


Fig VI (continued) NUMBERS OF OCCUPANTS OF RURAL AND URBAN WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN DARFUR PROVINCE

(b) Rural Communities



from people whose movements were mainly for the purpose of settling. Village traditions about founders usually distinguish between pilgrims and other migrants because of the contemporary interest to many occupants, largely as a result of their desire to feel part of a tradition of 'West African pioneer settlement' in an alien land. In practical terms, pilgrims are distinguished as coming from outside the Province, *en route* to or from Mecca, whilst settlers made smaller moves, deliberately in order to establish the village. The expansion of West African settlement, and the contemporary pilgrimage routes upon which it was consequent are traced in the series of Maps 21 to 24.

Pre-1881: The Turkiyya and earlier (Map 21) In the pre-Mahdist Period, pilgrimage traffic was small, and there was relatively little West African settlement. Villages were founded mainly by nomads, moving eastwards, who developed Gidad and Rajaj as foci of their *dar*. Contemporaneously, Gidan Fulani settled in Kebkabiya and El Fasher (see also O'Fahey, 1968).

Local traditions relate to several pilgrimage movements from which settlement resulted. Some of the earliest relate to pilgrims obliged to stay in Dar Fur by Sulayman Solong, which resulted in the founding of Fata Bornu, and later, Manawashei. Several Bornu villages were established shortly after, of which Manse still survives. The most important of these, which are still occupied, are listed in Appendix III.

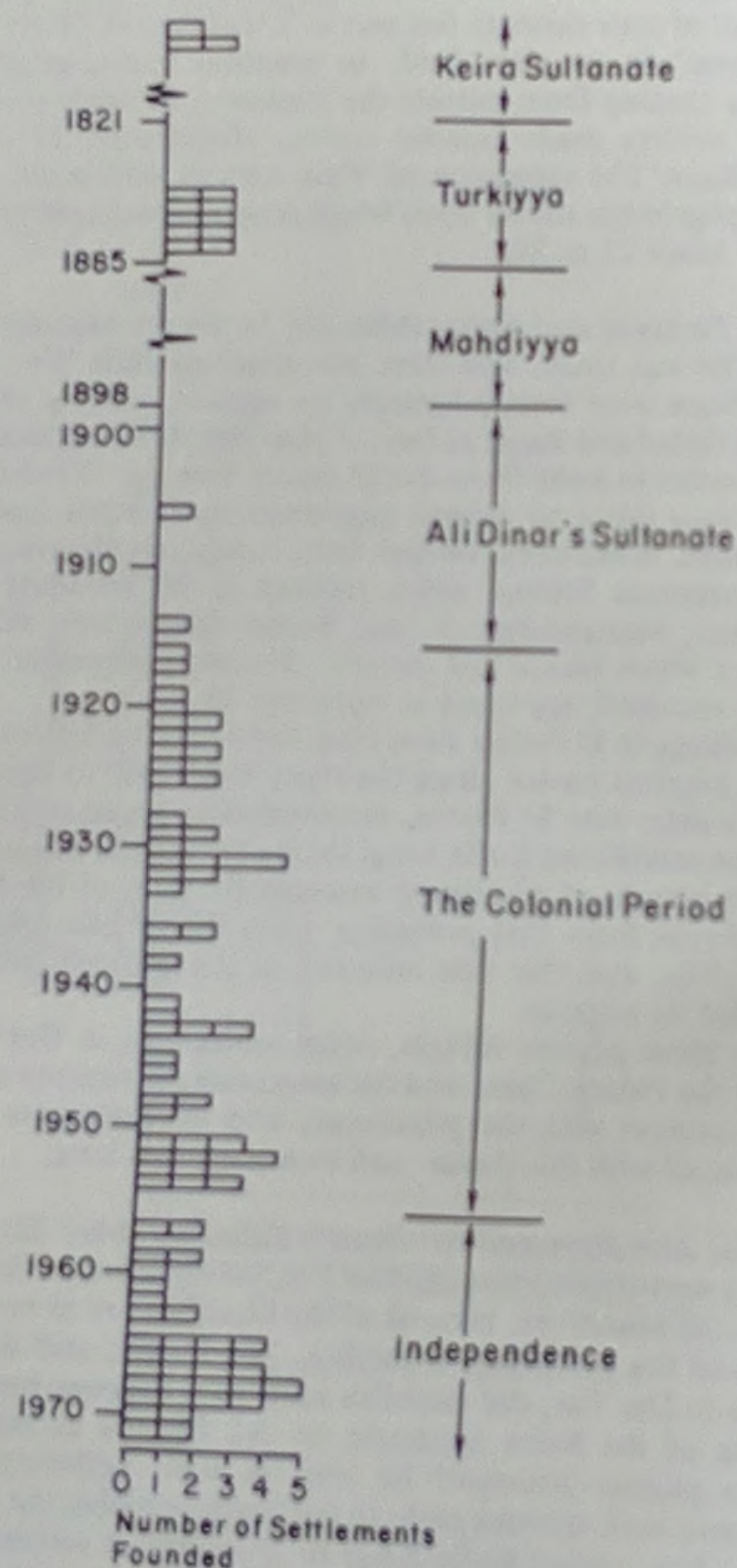
The Hausa village in El Fasher dates from before the Turkish invasion of Darfur, when pilgrims passed along the Forty Day Road to Egypt. After Zubier Pasha's entry into El Fasher, more pilgrims began passing to the south, and soon established Kafia Kingi (in the 1870s) and Songo in about 1880. Thus the pattern of pilgrimage immediately prior to the Mahdiyya was quite different from that prevailing when the earliest pilgrims had traversed Dar Fur, and this was reflected in the different sites of the villages founded by pilgrims.

Apart from these pilgrim villages, other settlements in Dar Fur were established by the Fulani. These and the associated movements of nomads had little connection with the pilgrimage, and were separate from the villages associated with the Hausa, and so are omitted here.

1881-1916: The Mahdiyya and Ali Dinar's Sultanate (Map 22) Although West Africans were passing through Dar Fur, no settlements were founded by pilgrims in the Mahdiyya, because of the Khalifa's call to congregate in Omdurman and the prevailing instability. The Fulani, and some of the settled Hausa in Dar Fur, did establish some new quarters however. The re-instatement of the Keira Sultanate on Ali Dinar's accession led to difficulties in pilgrim passage: * he was, at best, ambivalent towards pilgrims, so most took devious paths to the south rejoining the direct route in Kordofan. This caused Kafia Kingi to grow into a settlement of 500 huts, with quarters occupied by Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri and Jallaba. Most only stayed a year or two in Kafia Kingi before moving on. The villages founded during Ali Dinar's reign are in areas peripheral to the Sultanate,

*Thanks are due to Omar al Nagar for discussion about Ali Dinar.

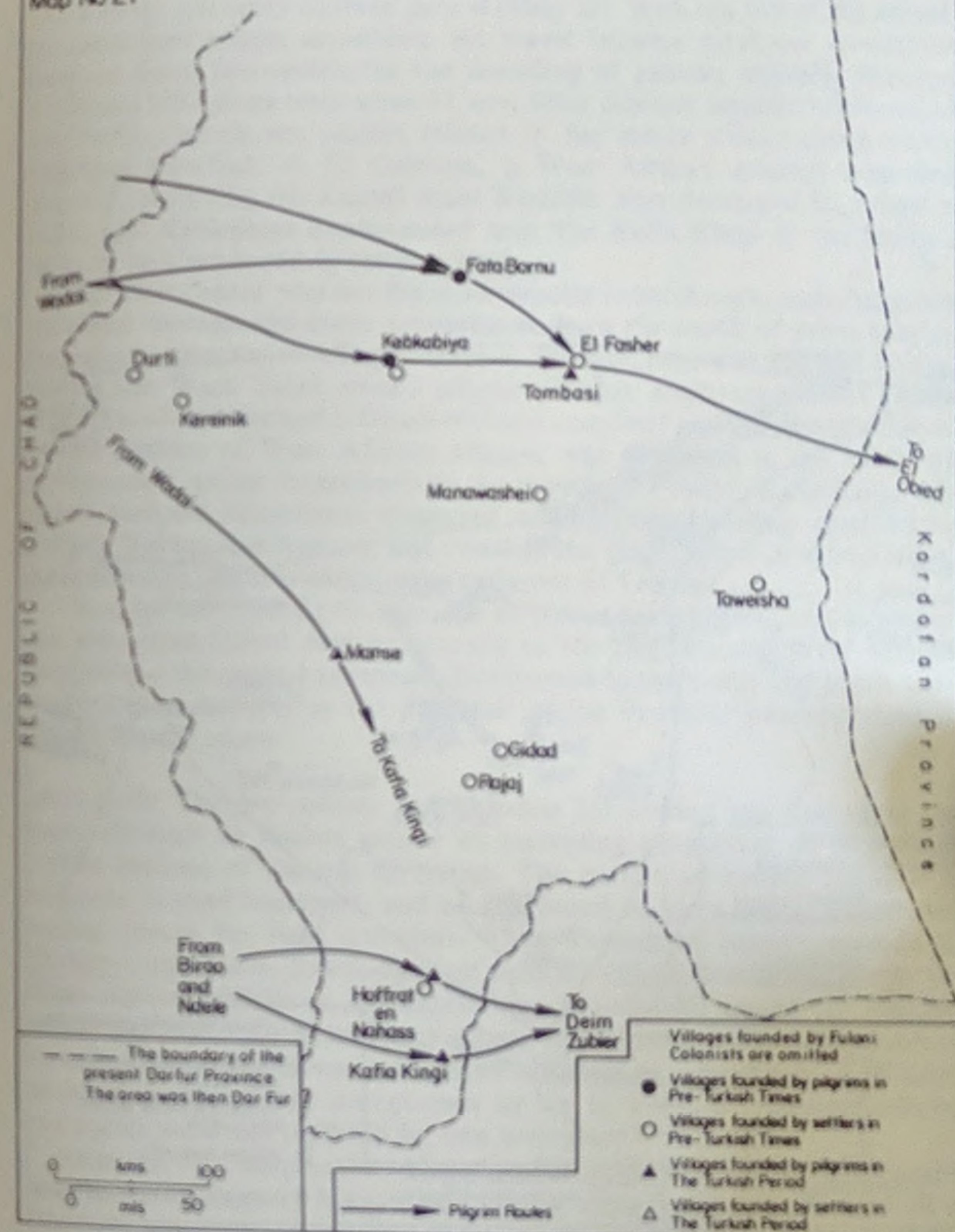
Fig VII DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT OF WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN DARFUR PROVINCE

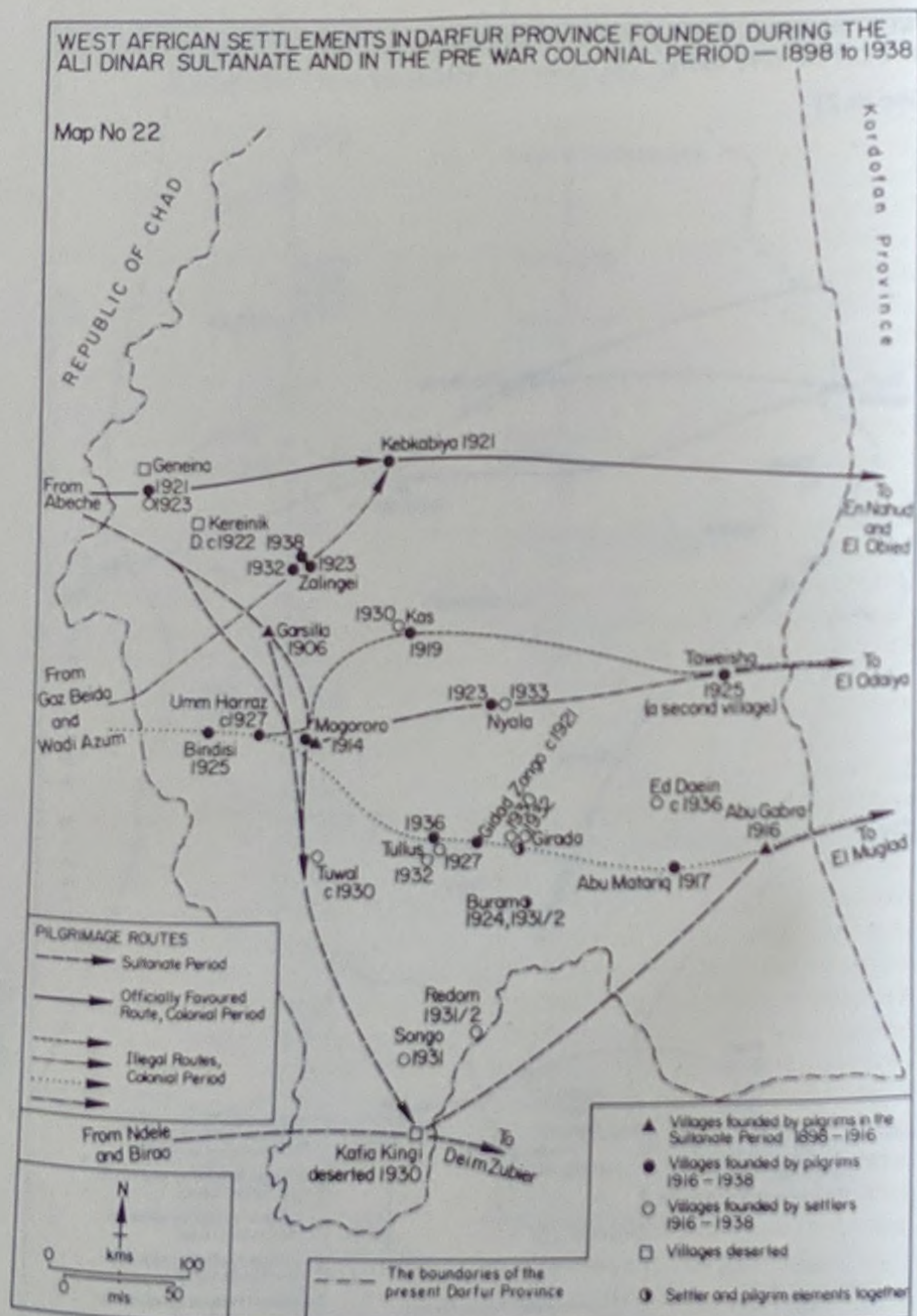


NB Other West African Settlements were founded in Dar Fur prior to 1900, mainly by the Fulani. These are not recorded here as these Fulani have little to do with the movement of pilgrims.

WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS IN DARFUR PROVINCE FOUNDED BEFORE THE MAHDIYYA (Pre 1881)

Map No 21





on routes to and from Kafia Kingi, where the word of the Sultan meant little.

1916-1938: The early colonial period (Map 22) With the fall of Ali Dinar, the southern routes atrophied. As travel became safer, so conditions became more favourable for the founding of pioneer villages. Between 1916 and 1938 there were some 18 new West African settlements founded in Darfur, which are plainly related to the major routes along which pilgrims travelled; at El Geneina, a West African quarter expanded quickly, attracting the Kanuri from Kereinik who decamped to almost a man, and Kebkabiya mushroomed into 'the Kafia Kingi of the North', only to be abandoned in the late 1940s.

The 'direct route' was not the most popular route though; many pilgrims threaded through the more amenable bush to the south of Jebel Marra, founding a number of villages: three at Zalingei, others at Kas and Nyala. Along the Wadi Saleh route, pilgrim villages mushroomed. At Umm Harraz a village reached 100 huts within a couple of years of establishment.

The pattern of West African villages was disturbed in the 1930s by Government action determined by the 'Southern Policy'. Kafia Kingi was razed and the inhabitants dispersed northwards, founding quarters in Tullus, Buram and Redom, and swelling the populations of Abu Gabra, Abu Matariq, Nyala, Mogororo, and even El Fasher.

Thus, by the onset of the war, the emphasis of settlement had moved to the area most suited environmentally to the pilgrims and West African migrants — the central savannas. Settlements in the north and south were beginning to atrophy as the potential of the Province was appraised in Hausa-Fulani terms.

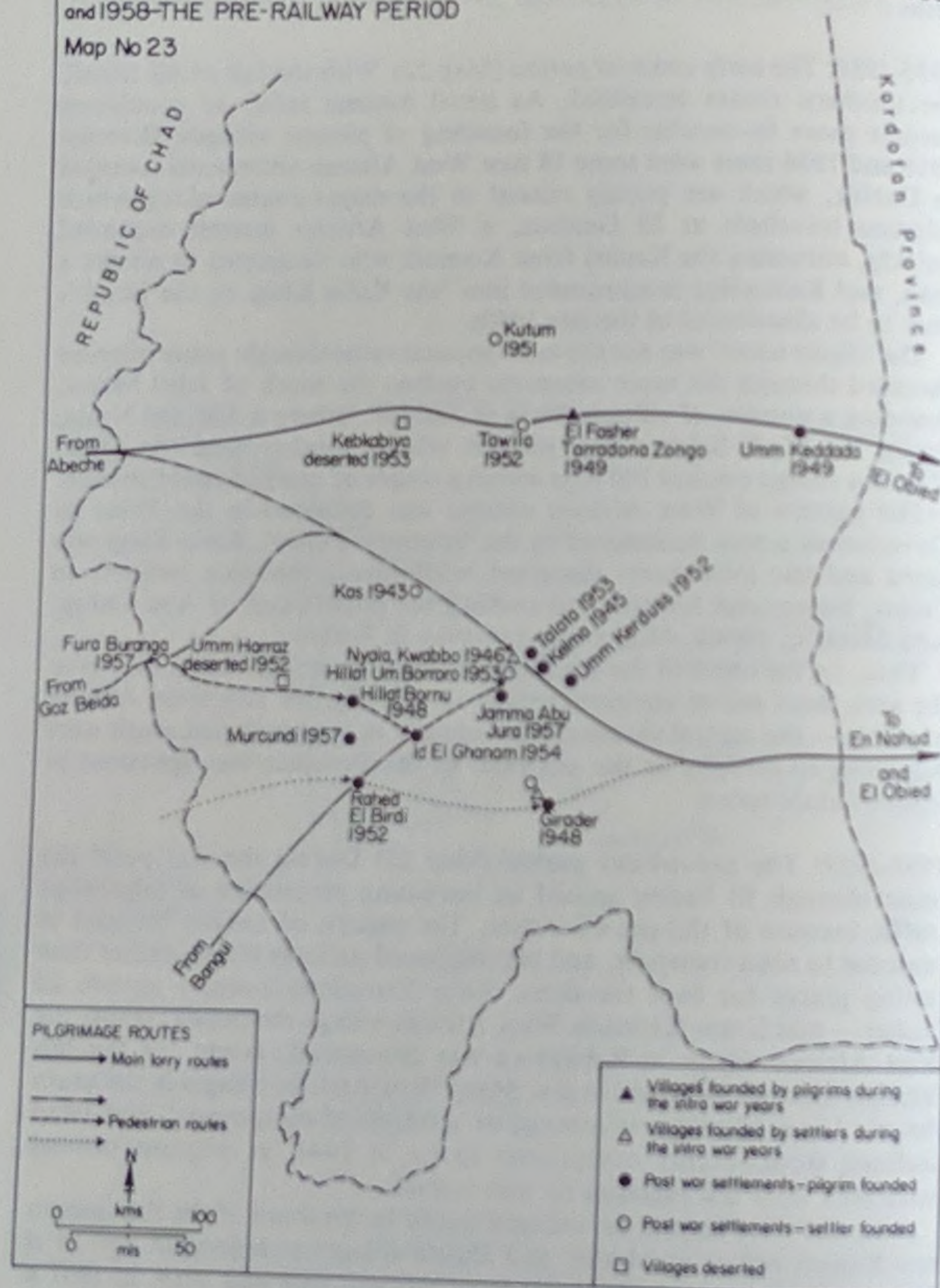
1938-1959: The pre-railway period (Map 23) During the war years the route through El Fasher gained an increasing proportion of pilgrimage traffic because of the use of lorries. The pattern of *zongos* changed in response to road transport, and became based on lorry stages, rather than resting places for foot travellers. Thus Tarradona *zongo* — outside El Fasher — and Umm Keddada West African village developed, whilst the West African village at Kebkabiya was abandoned, except for the few families who still live there today. Many West African villages in the south shrank; Umm Harraz was reduced to 'a couple of compounds', and Jidad declined from seventy compounds to six in 1944, as pilgrims moving eastwards were not replaced by new arrivals.

After the war, despite the reduced traffic in the south of the Province, a new Kanuri village at Manse, and Hausa villages at Murcundi and Id el Ghanam were established, dating from between 1945 and 1959. In 1957 a new *zongo* was opened in Fura Buranga. The expanded lorry services opened an alternative route through Bangui (see Map 7), and pilgrims using this road settled at Rahed el Birdi, establishing themselves as tanners and traders.

Five villages were founded in the Nyala area, not in anticipation of the railway, but reflecting Nyala's growing importance as a trading centre.

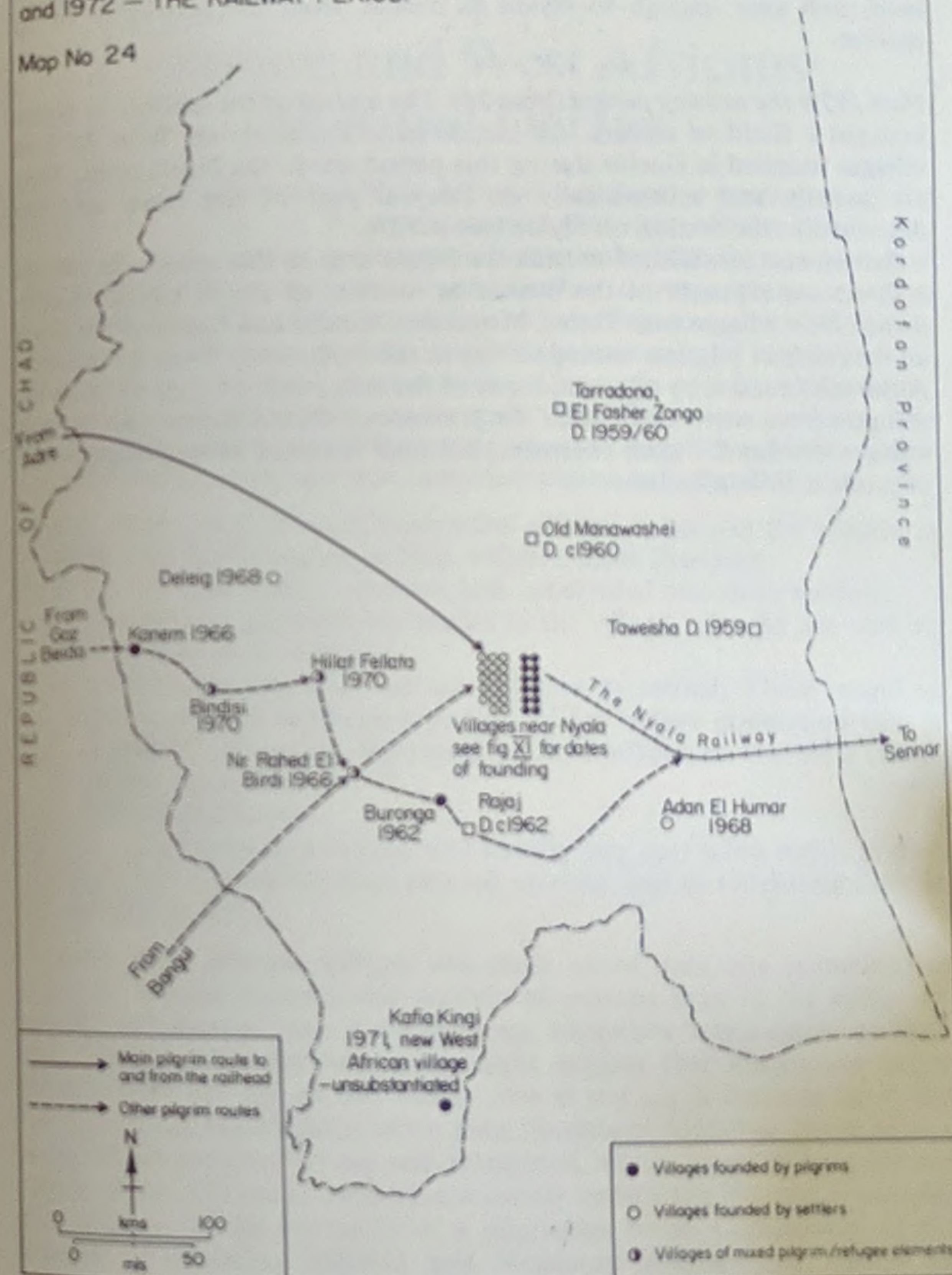
WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS FOUNDED IN DARFUR PROVINCE BETWEEN 1938 and 1958—THE PRE-RAILWAY PERIOD

Map No 23



WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS FOUNDED IN DARFUR PROVINCE BETWEEN 1958 and 1972 — THE RAILWAY PERIOD

Map No 24



Pilgrims settled at Kundush, Jamma abu Jura and Umm Kerduss, on good land, and near enough to Nyala to benefit from the proximity of its market.

Post 1959: the railway period (Map 24) The arrival of the railway in Nyala brought a flood of settlers. All but seven of the thirty-six West African villages founded in Darfur during this period are in the Nyala area. They are socially and economically an integral part of the town and are described in the section on Nyala (see p.127).

Settlements established outside the Nyala area in this recent period are a direct consequence of the increasing number of illegal pilgrim movements. New villages near Tullus, Mogororo, Bindisi and Rahed el Birdi are all the result of pilgrims having to stay in the bush, away from authorities. Although founded by pilgrims, many of the occupants of these villages are refugees from south-east Chad. The presence of these Chadians gives these villages a rather different character, but their function as staging posts for pilgrims is little affected.

X Pilgrims and West Africans in Rural Darfur

Just as the distribution of West Africans is a direct consequence of the passage of pilgrims, so the characteristics that their villages display are dependent upon pilgrim movements. In particular, the degree of integration of West African communities into Darfur society varies according to the migration history of the population of the village, in terms of the places of birth of inhabitants, and the speed of the turn-over of population.

The different types of West African village can best be identified by considering their populations to be made up of three basic elements. It is the differing proportions of these three classes of population of the villages which determine their attitude towards indigenous Sudanese society.

Class 1. Persons of West African tribal affiliation born in the villages in which they are living, or at least within Darfur Province.

Class 2. The immigrants, who are best subdivided into three sections.

- (a) Immigrants permanently settled in the village, who do not wish to return to West Africa.
- (b) Immigrant pilgrims, who are temporarily settled. These intend to move on and comprise a section of the village population that is constantly changing; it is this group that influences whether a village grows or declines.
- (c) Chadian refugees.

Class 3. The *zongo* population, who usually stay only a few nights in each *zongo*, and always less than two wet seasons, and so are distinguishable from group 2(b).

Some West African villages are made up of only one element. For example, Manse is composed entirely of persons born in the village or nearby, and Kanem, near Fura Buranga, comprises only a *zongo* population. Whilst these extreme cases might suggest that integration varies directly with the age of the village, this is not so; it depends upon the stability of the populations rather than the date of founding. Some newly-established communities are well integrated, whilst others of long history remain West African in outlook, constantly undergoing changes in population because of the proximity of a pilgrimage route. Comparison of the villages of Garsilla, Zalingei and Mogororo illustrate the impact of incoming pilgrims and the effect this has on relations between the West African communities and the Darfurians.

1. *A comparison of Garsilla, Mogororo and Zalingei Zongo*

Garsilla was founded first. In 1907, a band of pilgrims returning westwards stopped overnight in the original Fur and Daju settlement, and was so

impressed with the locality that they stayed and farmed in the approaching rains. Few of the original pilgrim group moved on to Nigeria. The West African population grew quickly, for Garsilla was on the Abeche-Wau pilgrimage route which was important during Ali Dinar's Sultanate. However, gains in population were reduced in the 1920s, as the route began to atrophy, and by 1930 traffic had virtually ceased.

Today the West African community of Garsilla is declining. In the five years prior to field work only seven pilgrims passed through the village. Out-migration, mainly to the east, is predominant, not for pilgrimage, but as part of the movement to the more developed areas of the Sudan (see, for example, Henin, 1961). Such contraction of West African communities situated on relict pilgrimage routes is a common feature, and has led to the desertion of villages, such as Rajaj. Abu Gabra and Abu Matariq were also in decline, but recently have reached small but stable populations.

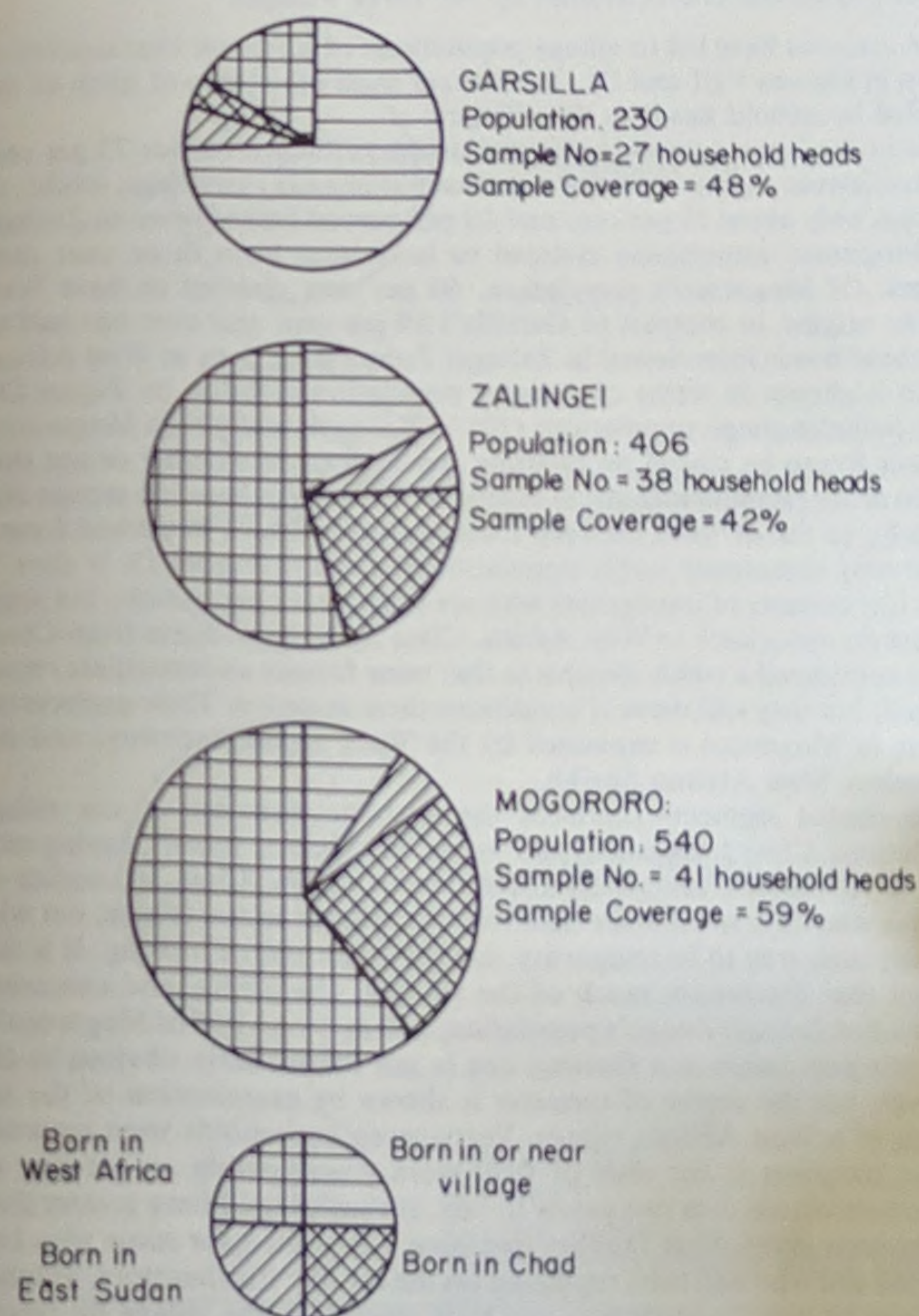
Mogororo was also founded by Hausa pilgrims passing along a route skirting Ali Dinar's Sultanate to the south. The founding group, who settled on the uninhabited site in 1916, made the pilgrimage and returned to form the nucleus of the present population. Mogororo also expanded as the Wadi Saleh route became popular when the route through Kafia Kingi atrophied. In 1920, the population reached 600, but declined in the 1940s as pilgrimage routes shifted northwards.

Recently, the population of Mogororo has again increased rapidly. Apart from refugees from south-east Chad who have established about twenty households, the larger number of pilgrims now using the Wadi Saleh route to avoid the border authorities has caused an increase in the number of *zongo* huts. The attempts to deter pilgrim entry also cause some to settle in Mogororo, rather than move quickly eastwards, because of the risks of deportation this involves. These are further swelling the population.

The founder of Zalingei* West African village first settled in Mogororo to trade between the populations of the south and the camel herders of the north. On a trading trip he arrived at Zalingei, and asked the British administration for permission to settle, having seen the potential of the site. The authorities, thinking that the example of 'the industrious West Africans' might spur the indigenous population to greater efforts, allowed the Hausa to settle, and actively encouraged further West African immigration. Growth was stunted by the founding of other settlements nearby, to which pilgrims were equally attracted, and in the 1930s and 1940s Zalingei Zongo (for, in contrast to other West African villages, this one is so called) had a population of about a hundred, mostly pilgrims in temporary residence. In 1959, the Nyala railhead encouraged far more pilgrims to pass through Zalingei, and population growth of Zongo increased. It remains to be seen how large Zalingei Zongo will be allowed to grow before the Sudanese authorities take action to prevent this illegal settlement. Some police action would seem inevitable because of the

*Although Zalingei is classified as a town from an administrative point of view, it is here considered as a village. It is thought of as such by local people, and especially by West Africans, who compare it unfavourably with Nyala. In any case, the West African village, across the Wadi Aribi, is truly rural in outlook.

Fig. VIII: PLACE OF BIRTH OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE WEST AFRICAN VILLAGES OF GARSILLA, ZALINGEI AND MOGORORO



accessibility of the village compared to other illegal concentrations of West Africans.

2. The population characteristics of the Three Villages

These histories have led to village populations of different characteristics, shown in Figures VIII and IX. The former shows the place of birth of the sampled household heads in the villages.

The lack of recent immigration in Garsilla is illustrated, for 75 per cent of interviewees claimed to have been born in or near the village, whilst, in contrast, only about 15 per cent and 10 per cent of interviewees in Zalingei and Mogororo respectively claimed to have been born in or near their villages. Of Mogororo's population, 60 per cent claimed to have West African origins, in contrast to Garsilla's 19 per cent and over one half of household heads interviewed in Zalingei Zongo were born in West Africa.

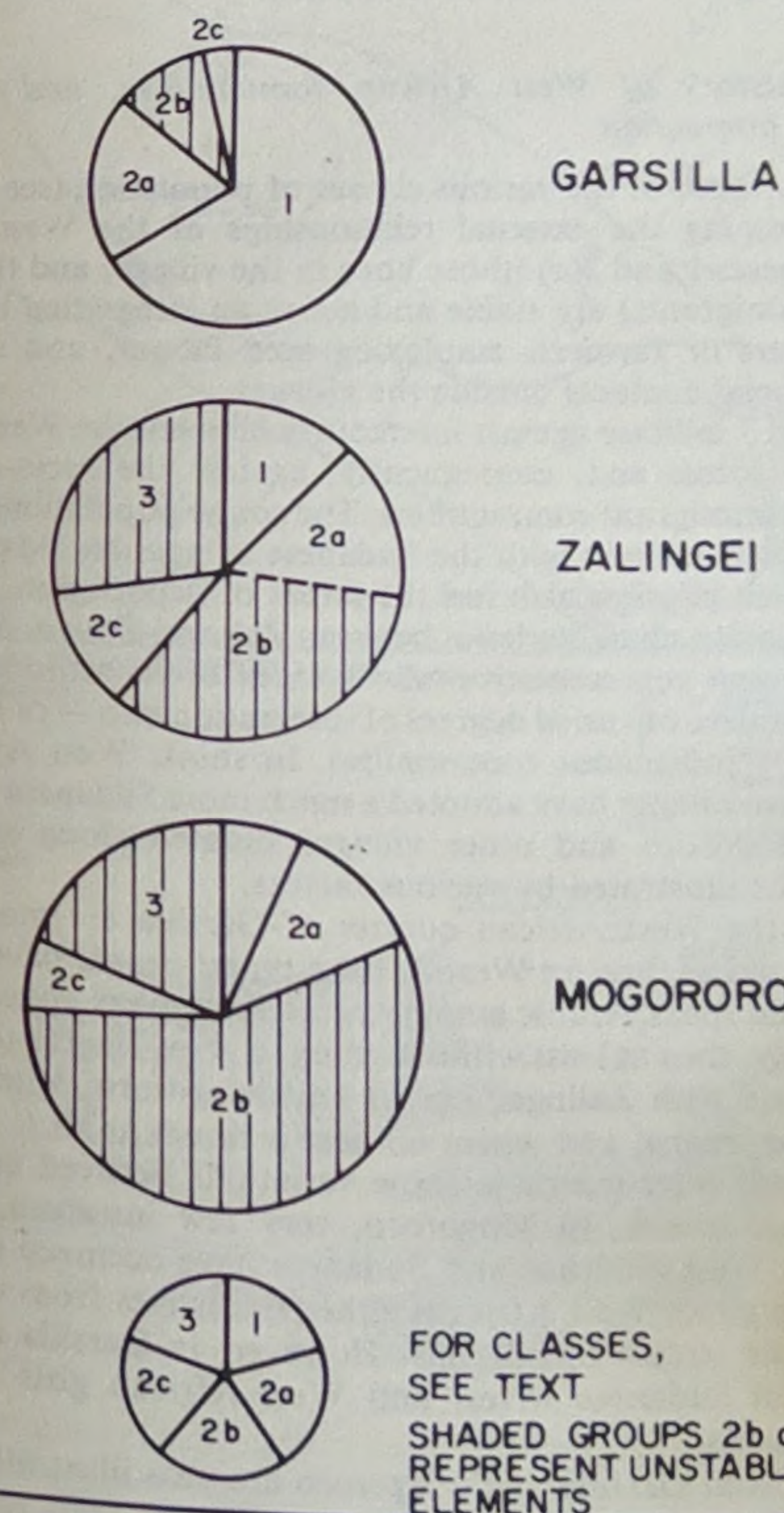
This is shown in terms of relative population stability by Figure IX, which includes *zongo* populations (105 in Zalingei, and 120 in Mogororo). Reliance has to be placed on pilgrims' predictions of whether or not they plan to settle permanently in the village to distinguish between groups 2(a) and 2(b), so the division between these classes is drawn in pecked form.

The only completely stable population element in Figure IX is class 1. Class 1(a) consists of immigrants who are supposedly permanent, but some of these do move back to West Africa. Class 2(c), the refugees from Chad, is also considered a stable element in that none foresees an immediate return to Chad, but they will move if conditions there improve. Their preferential settling in Mogororo is explained by the Wadi Saleh routeway, and the benevolent West African Sheikh.

The shaded segments represent the unstable elements of the village populations. Class 3 consists of the *zongo* inhabitants, mostly staying only a few days, who are completely absent from Garsilla. Class 2b consists of pilgrims who have spent more than two wet seasons in the village, but who consider their stay to be temporary, having intentions of moving. It is this element that determines much of the villages' characters, and comprises one-third of Zalingei Zongo's population, and over one-half of Mogororo's. That this population is a floating one is not immediately obvious to the observer, but the degree of turnover is shown by examination of the tax records of a West African village. Forty-seven households were recorded for tax purposes at the time of field work, representing an increase of fifteen households over two years. In fact, the inflow had been greater than this, because seven other families had been substituted for some who had departed and who had been registered on the tax list. Furthermore, another forty-five household-heads who had been resident in the village for 'more than a couple of months' were not on the tax lists 'because most will shortly move out'. During the fortnight's work in the village following this statement, several did.

Thus, not only do villages on pilgrimage routes have large numbers born in West Africa, but they also have a rapid turnover of population, quite apart from the pilgrims who only stay a few days in the *zongo*. In both

Fig IX HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES OF THE VILLAGES OF GARSILLA ZALINGEI, AND MOGORORO; BY CLASSES INDICATING POPULATION STABILITY



Zalingei Zongo and Mogororo there is only a small core of a couple of families that is really settled. The rapid turnover is often disguised by the population's being in a state of dynamic equilibrium. In contrast to these, Garsilla's population is particularly stable because the small numbers of immigrants have all been there for several years.

3. Migrational history of West African communities, and differing degrees of social interaction

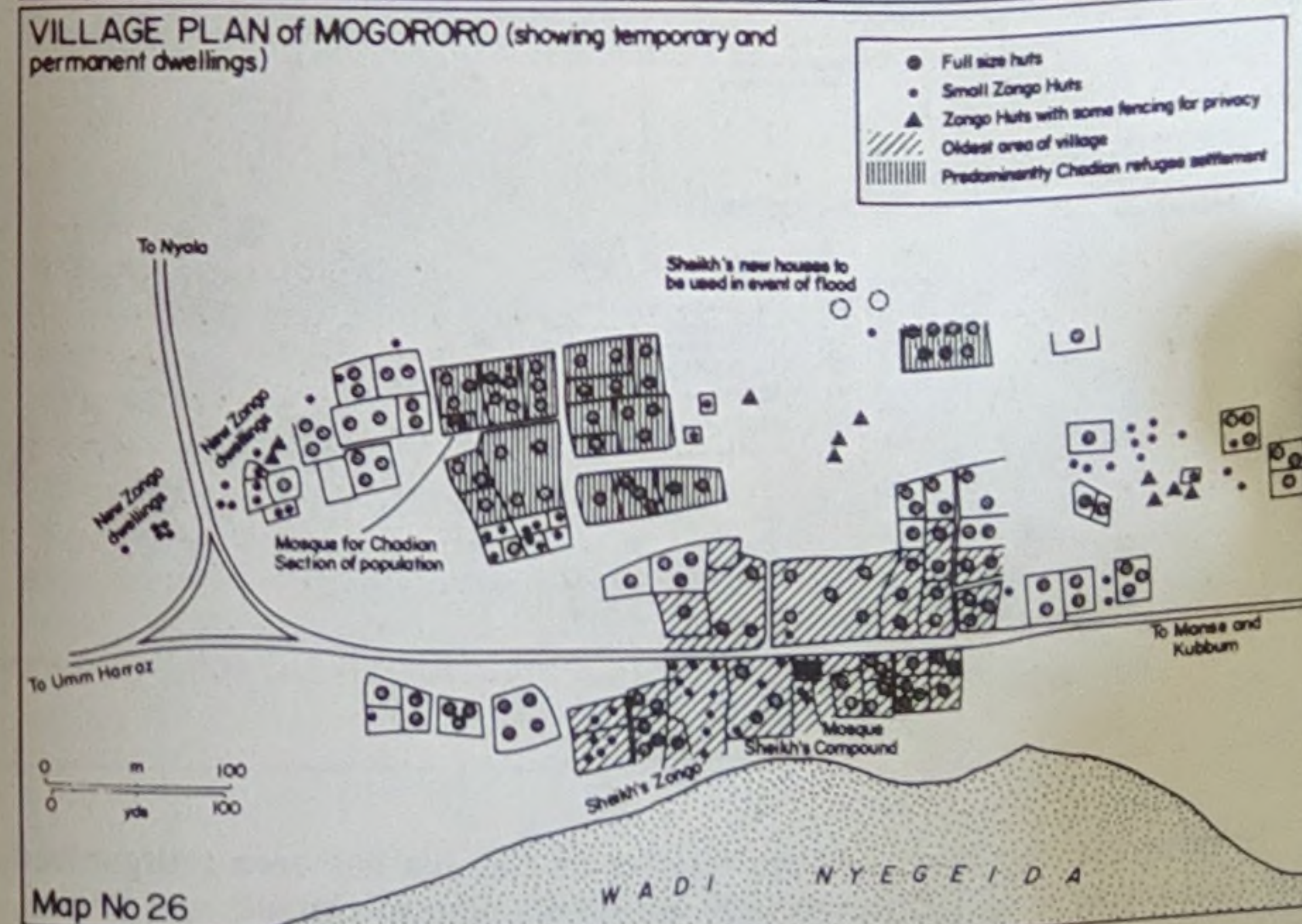
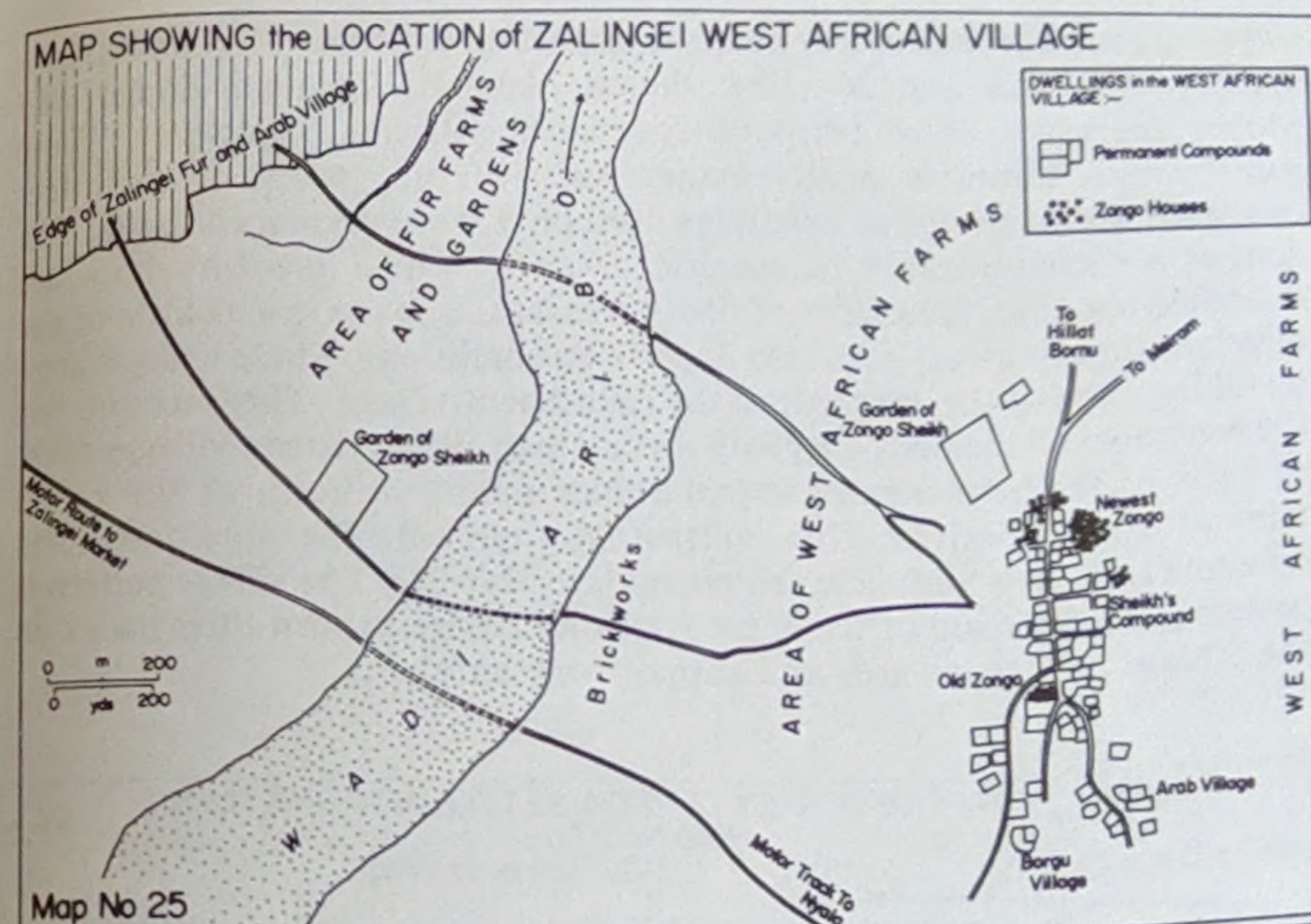
The relative importance of the various classes of population (see p.109) is critical in determining the external relationships of the West African communities. Classes 1 and 2(a) (those born in the village, and those who are permanent immigrants) are stable and act as an integrating influence, many being traders or farmers, employing paid labour, and so consequently having social contacts outside the villages.

Classes 2(b) and 3 militate against intercourse between the West African villagers and the locals and, consequently, against the socio-economic integration of the immigrant communities. The *zongo* populations wish for seclusion and as little contact with the Sudanese as possible. Many of the temporarily-resident pilgrims also feel the threat of deportation. Thus the contrasts in population characteristics between Zalingei Zongo, Mogororo and Garsilla become representative of divergences in attitudes of the villages, and illustrative of varied degrees of integration into — or deliberate withdrawal from — indigenous communities. In short, West Africans in Garsilla and similar villages have adopted a much more Sudanese character than those of Mogororo and other villages situated along pilgrimage routes. This can be illustrated by various factors.

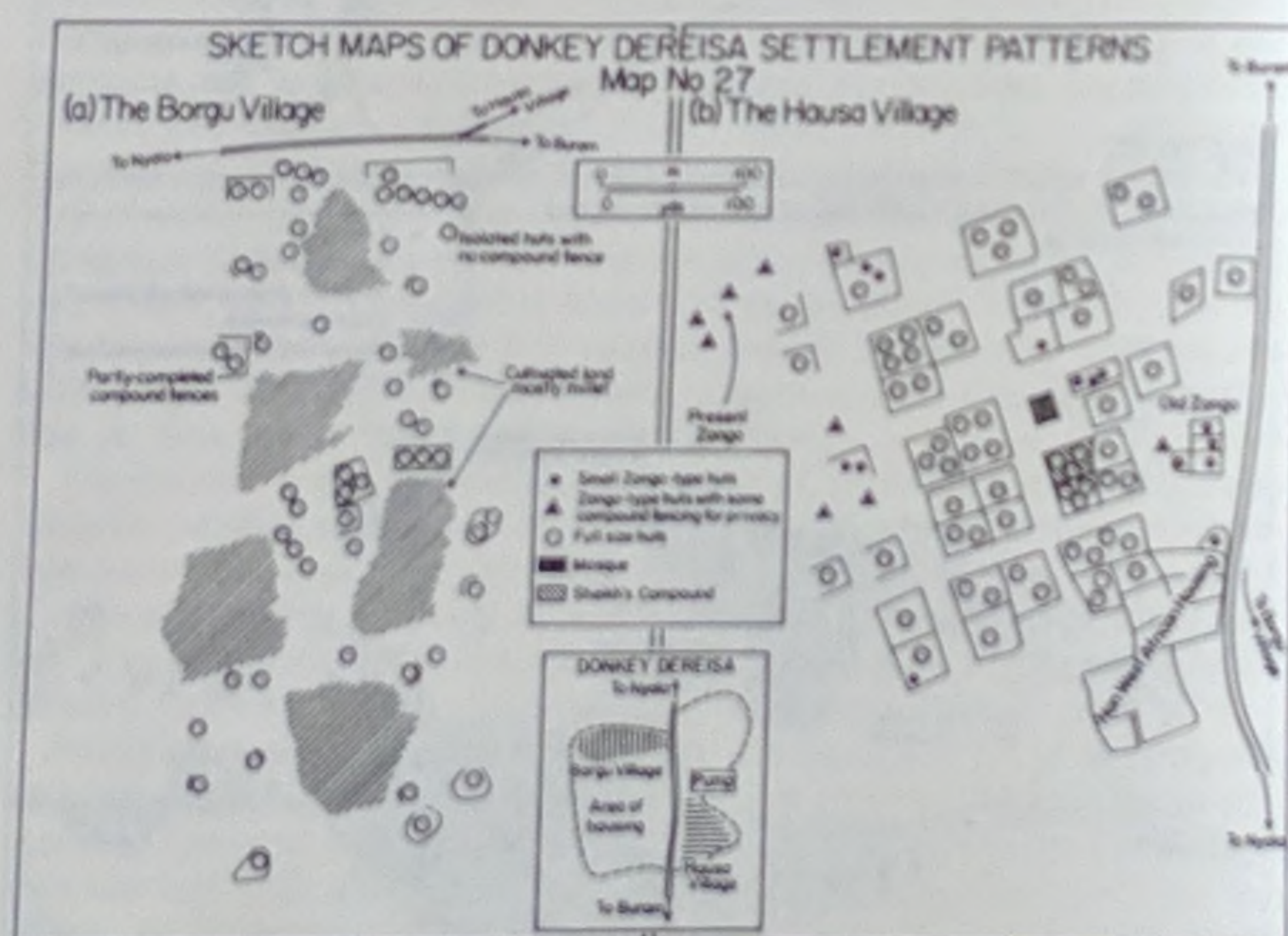
The houses in the West African quarter of Garsilla are modelled on Sudanese design, rather than on West African types; people have adopted Sudanese dress, and speak Arabic among themselves; many consume beer, if not quite publicly, then at least without going to great lengths to hide the fact. This contrasts with Zalingei Zongo and Mogororo, where Hausa remains the *lingua franca*, and where no beer is drunk at all.

Attitudes towards inter-marriage show variations between villages on and off pilgrimage routes. In Mogororo, very few instances of inter-marriage between West Africans and Sudanese have occurred (only two men married Arab girls); West Africans either find wives from within the village, or from the stream of pilgrims. However, in Garsilla numerous West Africans had Sudanese wives, and West African girls had even married Fur husbands.

Differences between Garsilla and Mogororo are also illustrated by dry season activity. Men resident in the 'pilgrim villages' tend to work in Nyala, returning periodically throughout the dry season to help in communal tasks such as housebuilding, and coming back to farm during the rains. Fewer men in Garsilla worked, and those who did went to the eastern Sudan, as do other Darfurians. Most came back to farm in the rains, but some had adopted the Sudanese habit of staying away from the home village for several years in succession.



The presence or lack of pilgrims has impact on the form of West African villages. Maps 25 and 26 show sketch plans of Zalingei Zongo and Mogororo, which house temporarily-resident pilgrims, in *zongos*. These rural *zongos* comprise small circular huts, of only seven or eight feet diameter, quite inferior to dwellings used on a more permanent basis. The *zongos* are concentrated in specific areas in which the tiny huts are crammed together. Standards of life in a rural *zongo* are low as little of the pilgrims' time or effort goes into improving conditions. These villages grew by taking parts of the *zongos* into the permanent village. This accounts for the compact and higgledy-piggledy form which West African villages take, as parts of the permanently settled village retain the form of the *zongo* from which they derived. This contrasts strongly with the more open form resulting from new Sudanese settlement (see Map 27). The village pattern is perhaps an expression of the West Africans' desire to turn their backs on the Sudan, to face inwards and support one another.



In contrast, the West African quarter of Garsilla has been reorganized on a grid-iron plan. (Unfortunately, no sketch plan of Garsilla was drawn, but in lieu a map of Donkey Dereisa West African village is included—Map 27). This more formal pattern has developed because of the lack of growth from a *zongo*. Expansion is only because of natural increase, not in-migration, so that new housing is premeditated and regular. Only the older parts of Mogororo and Zalingei Zongo are at all regular because of deliberate recent reorganization.

4. Population characteristics and the sites of West African villages

When the three villages were first sited, all were some distance from the nearest Sudanese village. Today, Zalingei Zongo remains on the original site, but has been encroached upon by the expansion of newer Arab and Borgu settlements. The West Africans are trying to discourage this to preserve their isolation. It is the *zongo* function that keeps the West Africans in Zalingei from joining the main community. The pilgrims are desirous of seclusion, and as the West Africans take the *zongo* function of their community very seriously, this alone makes them wish for a separate village.

Mogororo, when washed away by the wadi some thirty years ago, was not re-established on the nearest suitable site, but on one that was more isolated. The West Africans in Mogororo did not wish to live near Kubbum because 'the Sudanese are not desirable neighbours'. The attachment of the villagers to West Africa remained strong, so even the long-established residents had not come to terms with the Sudanese when the new village was founded in the 1940s, and wanted to remain apart from them. The reluctance to integrate is a direct consequence of the turnover of Mogororo's population.

In 1935, when the Wadi Debarei swept away Garsilla West African village, it was resited adjacent to the Fur and Borgu quarters. Since then, with the siting of new houses near the centre of the community, the West African section has become a segment of the village as a whole. The desire of Garsilla West Africans to remain apart had been lost by the time their village was resited. This was not simply a result of the longevity of the village—it is little older than Mogororo—but rather of the stability of population, resulting from the complete cessation of pilgrimage traffic through Garsilla. Once the village lost its *zongo*, its preoccupation with pilgrimage and subsequently its West African outlook evaporated. Thus it soon came to be considered that it was advantageous, and not demeaning, for them to mingle with the Darfurians.

In the Province of Darfur as a whole, almost 69 per cent of West African villages are separated geographically from the nearest Sudanese quarter. The remaining 30 per cent, mixed villages, as they may be called, have a migration history similar to that of Garsilla, with populations that have not increased substantially by migration in the recent past. The critical factor determining whether they are sited in or separate from Sudanese communities is the presence or lack of new blood from West Africa. Thus, upon its decline, Kebkabiya West African village moved site from its original isolated location to within 100 yards of the market place. During a stagnant period when it received no new immigrants, Hillat Meiram moved site into the nearby Fur village.

Although West African communities in Darfur may desire separate sites, rarely are they situated long distances from indigenous communities. Apart from the obvious constraints of the physical environment, most pilgrims desire to be within walking distance of Sudanese communities in order to sell goods to them, and to learn of opportunities for farm work.

In conclusion, it is worth noting peoples' different attitudes towards newly arrived pilgrims in communities on and off the pilgrimage routes. When a pilgrim arrives in Mogororo, he moves into a *zongo* hut, then approaches the sheikh to pay his respects and ask for charity. Reasonable demands are rarely refused in villages like Mogororo. The drain on the purse is one of the hazards, or privileges, of living in a village on a pilgrim routeway.

Pilgrims do occasionally arrive in Garsilla, but there is no accommodation ready for them, there being no *zongo*. Some of the population are prepared to take the pilgrims into their houses and feed them, and this is how those who arrive in Garsilla are provided for — by generous individuals. Other members of the West African community will not accommodate pilgrims, however, and will not give any charity to them, which in Mogororo would be unheard of. In Garsilla the lack of a modern pilgrimage custom, the result of the atrophy of the pilgrimage route along which the village founders travelled, has meant that the West Africans have adopted a Sudanese view towards the pilgrims and no longer identify with them. These different attitudes, which typify deep cleavages within West African society in the Sudan, are determined above all by the degree of continuity of exposure they have had to West African influence in the form of pilgrimage movements in the past.

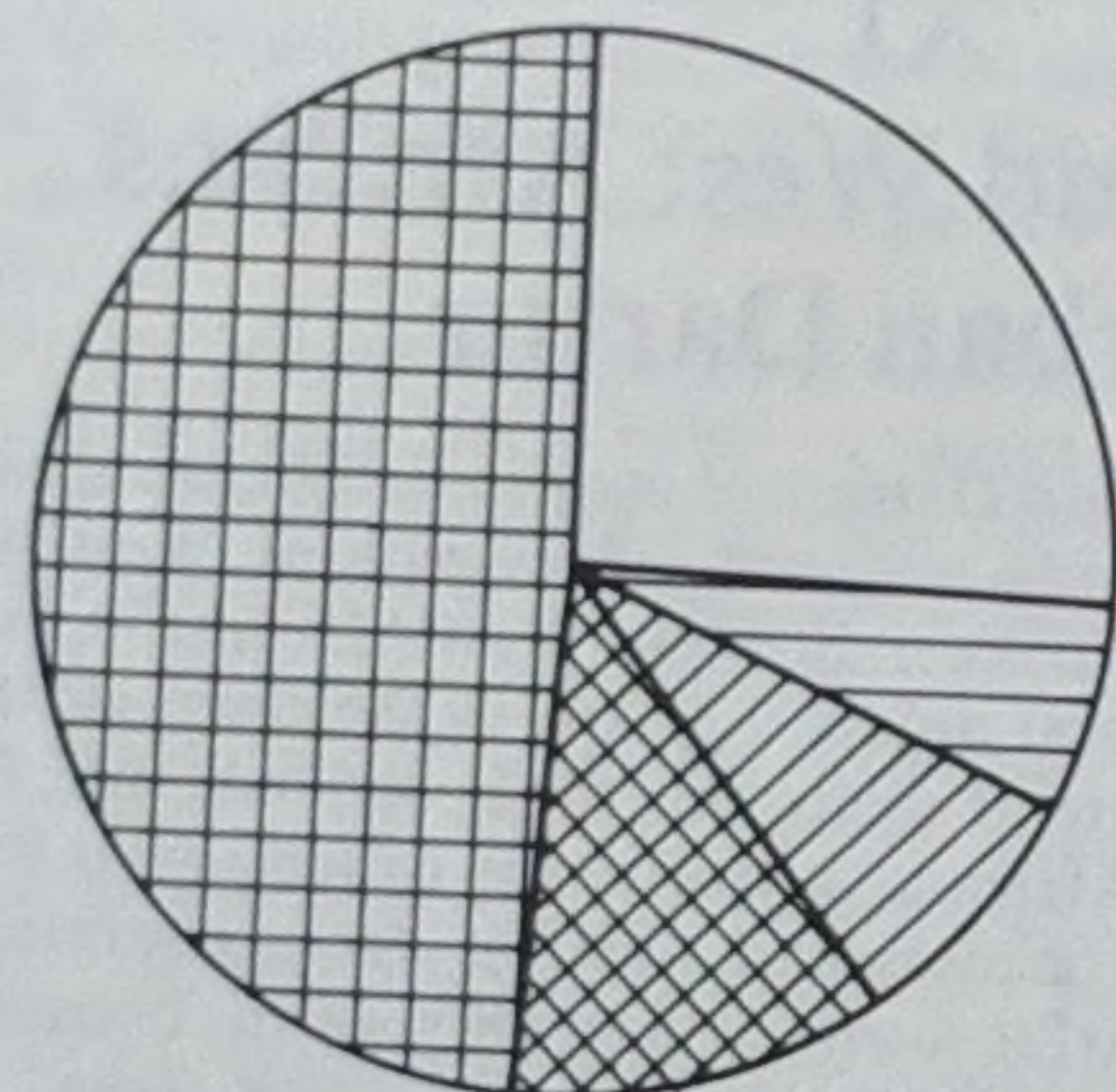
XI Pilgrims and West Africans in Urban Darfur

In El Fasher, El Geneina, and Ed Daein it is easy to define the urban West African population but in Nyala seasonal movements of West Africans between villages and the town make it difficult. West Africans in the Nyala area have been classified as rural unless they live in the town all the year, as is justified by the fact that their major income is derived from farming. That over one-third of West Africans in Darfur are urban (see p.96) might be unexpected, as many are farmers and pilgrims are predominantly of rural origins. However, in Darfur most towns-people farm, because of the small urban populations and thin spread of people about them. Furthermore, the West Africans are largely a migrant population, and so tend to congregate along the routes across the Province which pass through the towns. West Africans declined in relative importance in the three biggest towns in the Province between 1956 and 1971, when much of the increased urban population came from Chad. Only in El Fasher has the proportion of West Africans not fallen significantly; this is because the total population has risen little. (See Appendix IV.)

In these towns, spontaneous ethnic segregation means most West Africans live in well-defined quarters. Only three of these have populations in excess of 800 people (Fig. VI), suggesting that, above this number, centripetal forces come into play, causing the foundation of other geographically separate communities. This occurs, but is complicated by the contemporaneous development of several West African sections in one town. The character of the various West African urban communities is dependent above all, as in the rural environment, on the migration balance consequent upon the proximity of pilgrimage routes at various times.

Data was again collected on a household basis, but the population has not been broken down into the residential types of Figure VIII, the urban migration balance being illustrated by place of birth data only, because of the larger numbers involved (Fig. X). The place of birth data was obtained by casual random sampling of household heads, coverage amounting to 22 per cent of households in El Fasher Tombasi; 48 per cent in Nyala Hillat Jebel; 32 per cent in Nyala Kwabbo, and 31 per cent in El Geneina Hillat Hausa. The exception to this was Ed Daein, where less than 11 per cent of household heads were questioned. These samples were taken from the populations living in the communities named, and do not include quarters of stable populations: for example, the El Fasher Fellata community was excluded. They have no common culture binding them together socially, nor are they segregated spatially, having integrated with the indigenous Arabs.

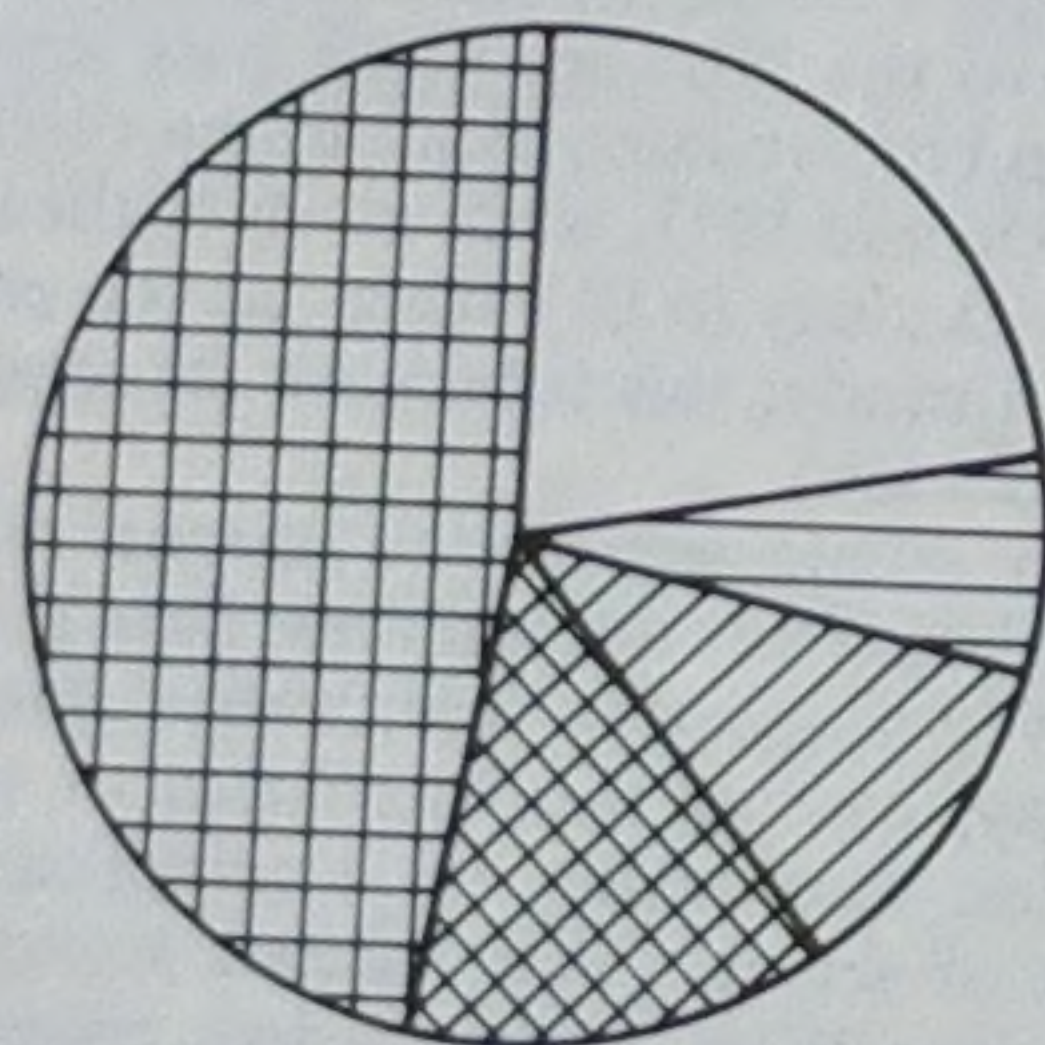
Fig X PLACE OF BIRTH OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN URBAN WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN DARFUR PROVINCE



EL FASHER
TOMBASI

Population 1,630

22% of household heads
sampled



EL GENEINA
HILLAT HAUSA

Population 1,430

31% of household heads
sampled

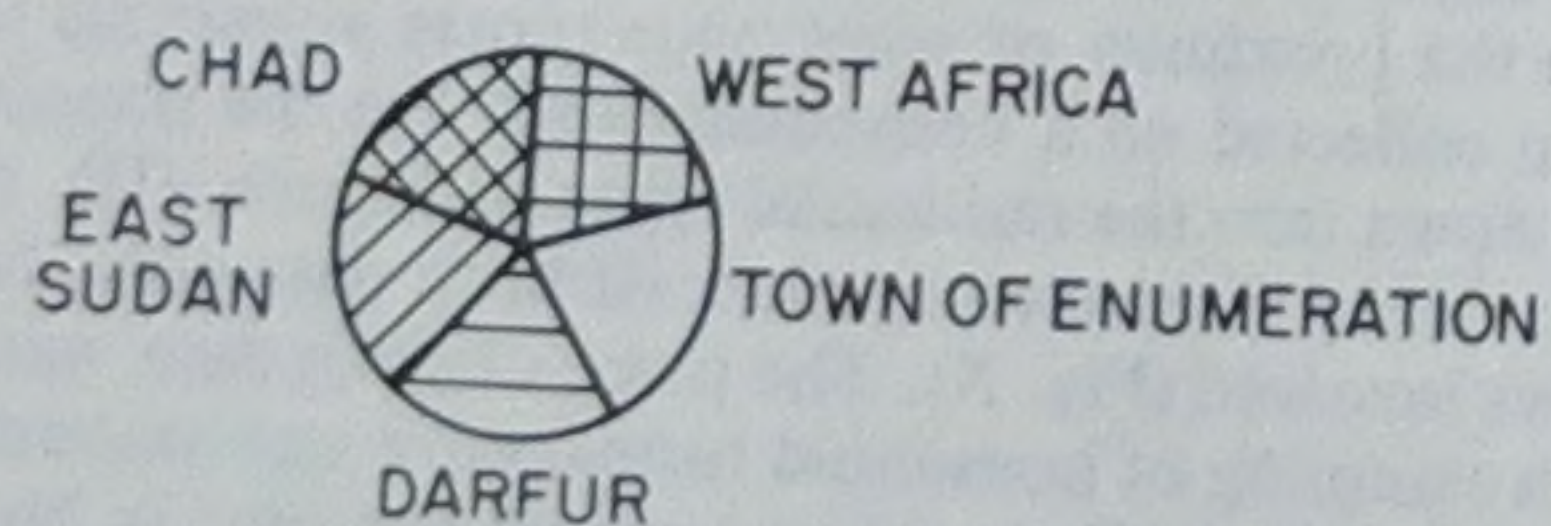
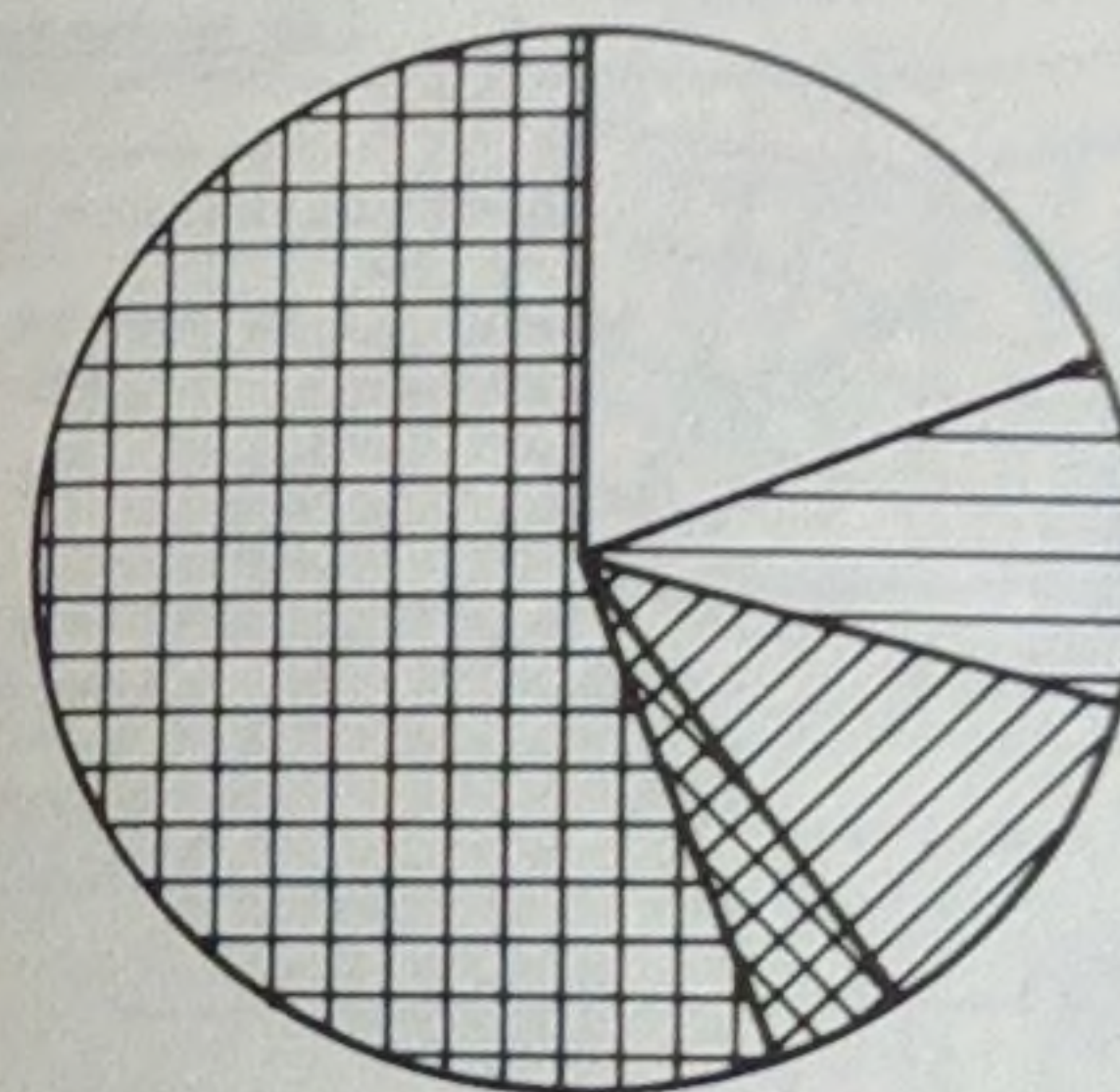


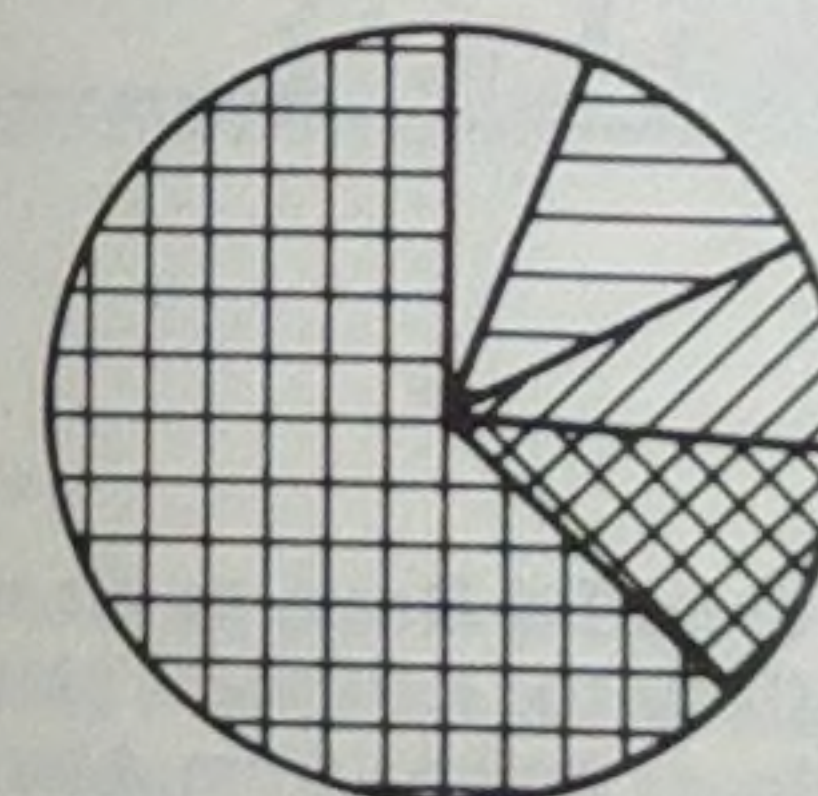
Fig X (continued) PLACE OF BIRTH OF WEST AFRICAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN URBAN COMMUNITIES



ED DAEIN

Population: 1,450

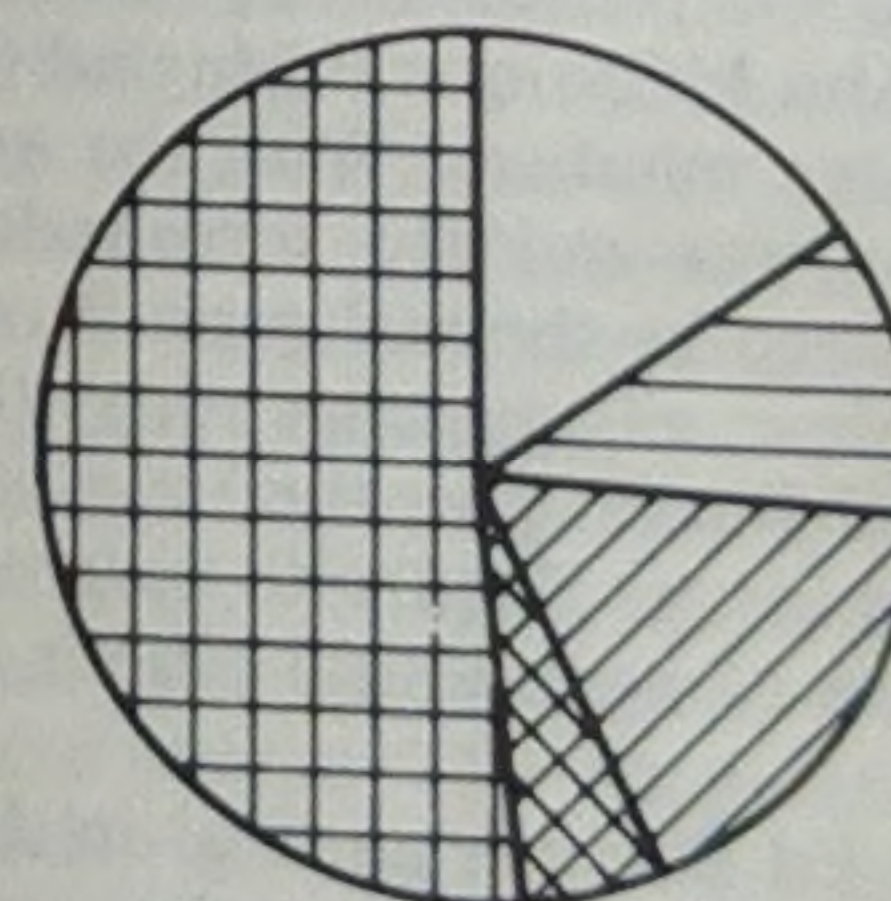
11% of household heads
sampled



NYALA
HILLAT EL JEBEL

Population: 640

48% of household heads
sampled.



NYALA
KWABBO

Population: 810

32% of household heads
sampled.

In the 1950s, increasing numbers began to fly to Mecca, and the railway was extended to Nyala, making El Geneina less attractive to pilgrims. Subsequently the illegal flow of pilgrims has passed outside the town, so there has been little recent settlement; this has led to a stabilisation of the population of Hillat Hausa, which has since grown only by natural increase (Figure X shows the large proportion of household heads born locally).

The relative prosperity of El Geneina West Africans is due largely to this stability, which has enabled development of trading networks stretching from Nigeria to Saudi Arabia. They deal in tea, salt, skins, sugar and perfumes, and provide the capital, transport and labour for the trade in kola nuts. Apart from the half-dozen large-scale traders, the community as a whole, even to its most humble, is relatively wealthy compared to the indigenous population.

Although settled, and no longer a 'pilgrim village', they have retained their industry and strict moral code. Indeed, the latter has been endorsed, Hillat Hausa being notable for lack of prostitutes, beer houses and dogs, and for having few unsecluded women: no wonder that Sudanese, previously acquainted with the poor West Africans in the eastern Sudan, are surprised by the El Geneina community.

The lack of recent large-scale immigration has enabled Hillat Hausa to remain geographically contiguous, expanding slowly in the north-west where West Africans buy houses; for these they will pay high prices eventually buying out the other tribes in the area (within the pecked lines on Map 29) and giving it the distinctive character of Hillat Hausa.

Although few pilgrims enter the town, the El Geneina community is involved with pilgrimage, three *sarkis* having *zongos* there (Map 29). The importance of these urban *zongos* is decreasing, as the *sarkis* have found it too risky to bring pilgrims into town.

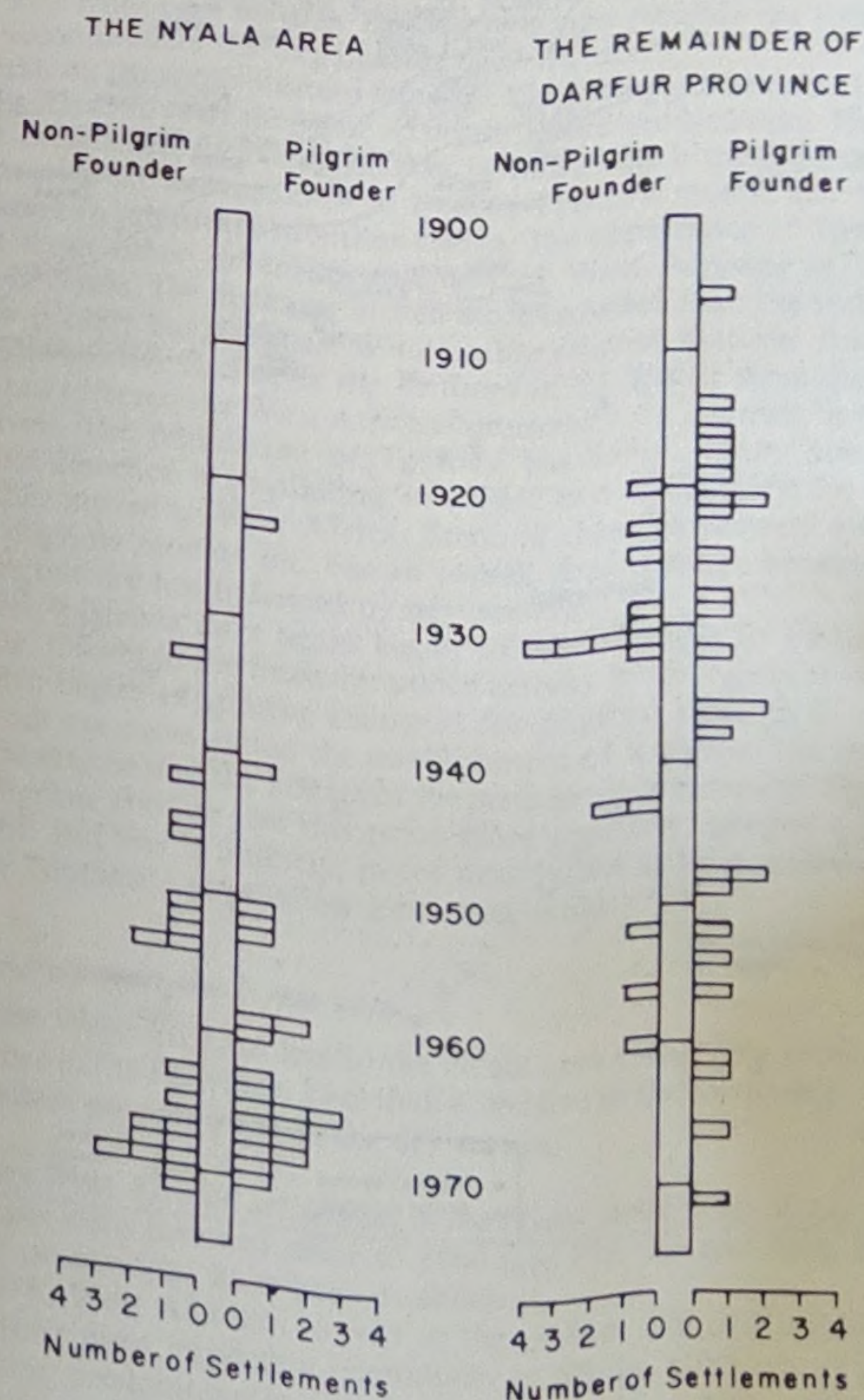
One *zongo* continues to flourish, however: the one that caters for Kanuri-speaking pilgrims. The *sarki* has a virtual monopoly of smuggling Bornu pilgrims, hence the continued use of his urban *zongo*. But concessions have been made to the increased risks, for he moved the *zongo* out into the zone of expansion of the Hausa village.

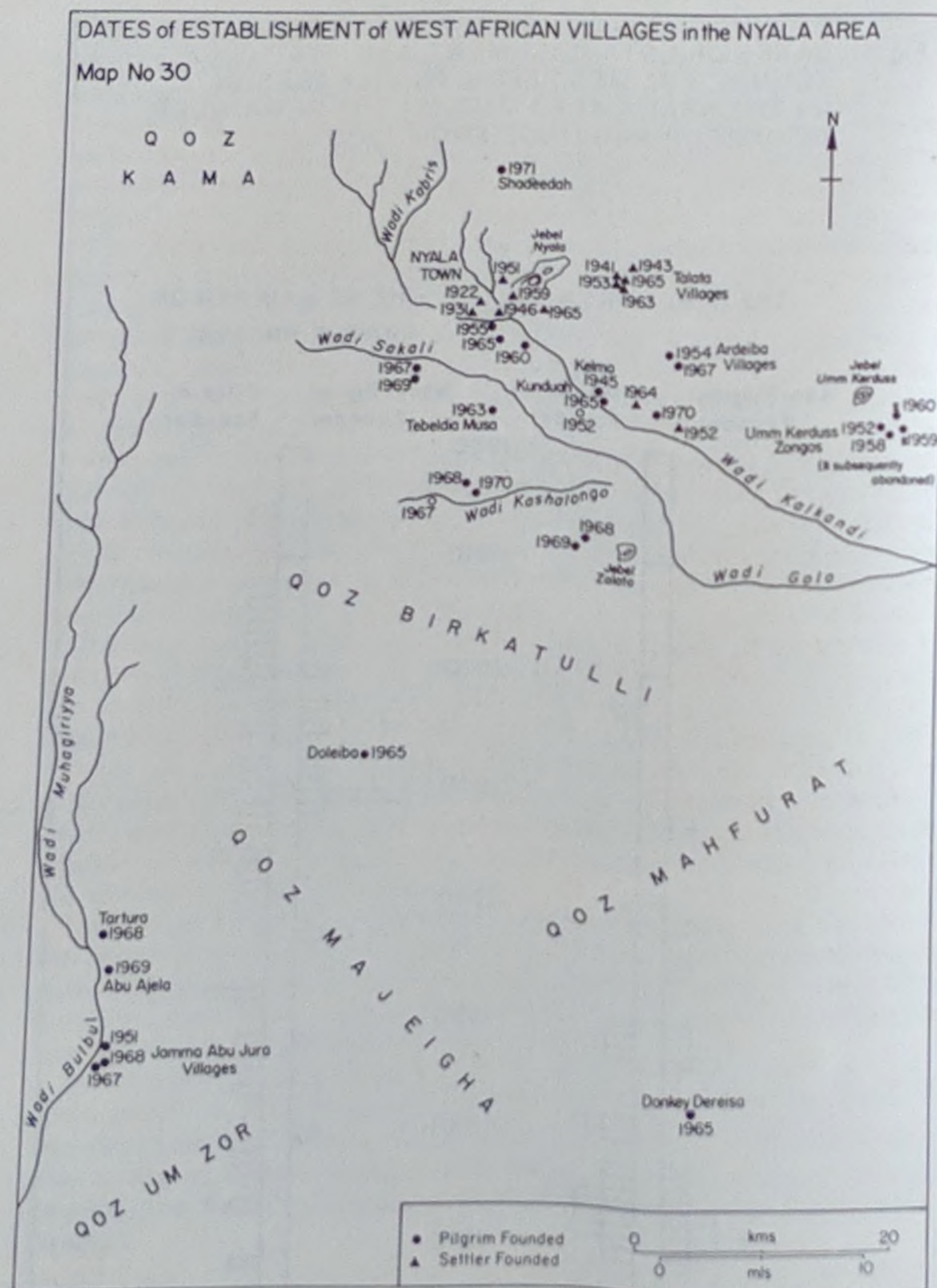
In El Geneina Hillat Hausa, despite the decline in *zongos* and commensurate cessation of the passage of pilgrims, the stable population has not assimilated Sudanese habits, but still has a marked West African outlook. This is due to frequent contact with West Africa through the trading network, and their identification with the many pilgrims passing around El Geneina.

3. El Fasher

The West African population of El Fasher (probably in excess of 4,000, Appendix IV) is composed of three main elements, only one of which manifests itself as an identifiable community, the Bornu and Fellata being scattered, both geographically and socially, in consequence of a long history of acculturation and inter-marriage, and a desire not to be

Fig XI. DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT AND STATUS OF FOUNDER OF WEST AFRICAN VILLAGES IN (a) THE NYALA AREA AND (b) THE REMAINDER OF DARFUR PROVINCE FROM 1900





identifiable as an immigrant group. In contrast, the Hausa and recently-arrived West Africans live in Tombasi village.

Although the Fellata are long-established in El Fasher, in the Mahdiyya there were few Hausa in the town. However, in spite of emigration, a small community remained even under Ali Dinar; MacMichael observed that pilgrim settlers had a quarter to themselves in 1916. Tombasi is largely a post-Ali Dinar development; it expanded quickly between 1930 and 1950 when the transportation of pilgrims by lorry through El Fasher was in its heyday, and from time to time Tarradona *zongo* (outside the town) was used to accommodate the large numbers of travellers.

Tombasi, on the south-western fringe of El Fasher, and remote from the market, is illustrative of the West Africans' desire for isolation. The West Africans established their own market, around which their houses clustered, but with the expansion of El Fasher, Tombasi market and mosque have become an important suburban centre. The appearance of Tombasi is different from other urban communities of West Africans in Darfur. Kwabbo in Nyala, for instance, is even more crowded than the rest of the town (see p.128), but Tombasi is noticeably emptier than the rest of El Fasher. The relative decline in the fortunes of El Fasher since the Nyala railhead has affected the West African community. In contrast to the rest of the town, the population of Tombasi has fallen. Many houses are empty, and desertion is continuing: in 1970/1 two families left for Nyala, and another moved to West Africa. Some of these movements away are those of pilgrims moving on, but an overall decline set in because those who move out are not balanced by new arrivals.

However, pilgrims have again begun to pass through El Fasher on a small scale. Owing to the intensive police activity in the Nyala area, some agents have begun organising transport for pilgrims through El Fasher. This has not yet necessitated the establishment of a *zongo*, for the small numbers are taken into the houses of the permanent community. However, should pilgrims start to use this route more regularly, *zongos* would be established. But this is unlikely, in the near future at least, and a further decline in Tombasi's population seems inevitable.

4. West Africans in the Nyala area

Over 11,000 West Africans live in the Nyala area (Map 20), about 31 per cent of those in the Province. Less than 4,000 live in the town itself, though large numbers pass through in the dry season.

Pre-railway West African settlement in the Nyala Area Only 40 per cent of their villages were founded prior to 1960 (see Fig. XI and Map 30), but since then twenty four have been established.

In 1945/6, West Africans moved to the present site of Kwabbo (Map 31), now their most important community in Nyala, although its population remains predominantly immigrant. Figure X, which excludes the mobile *zongo* population, illustrates the unstable community.

Kelma was the first West African village near Nyala to be occupied all

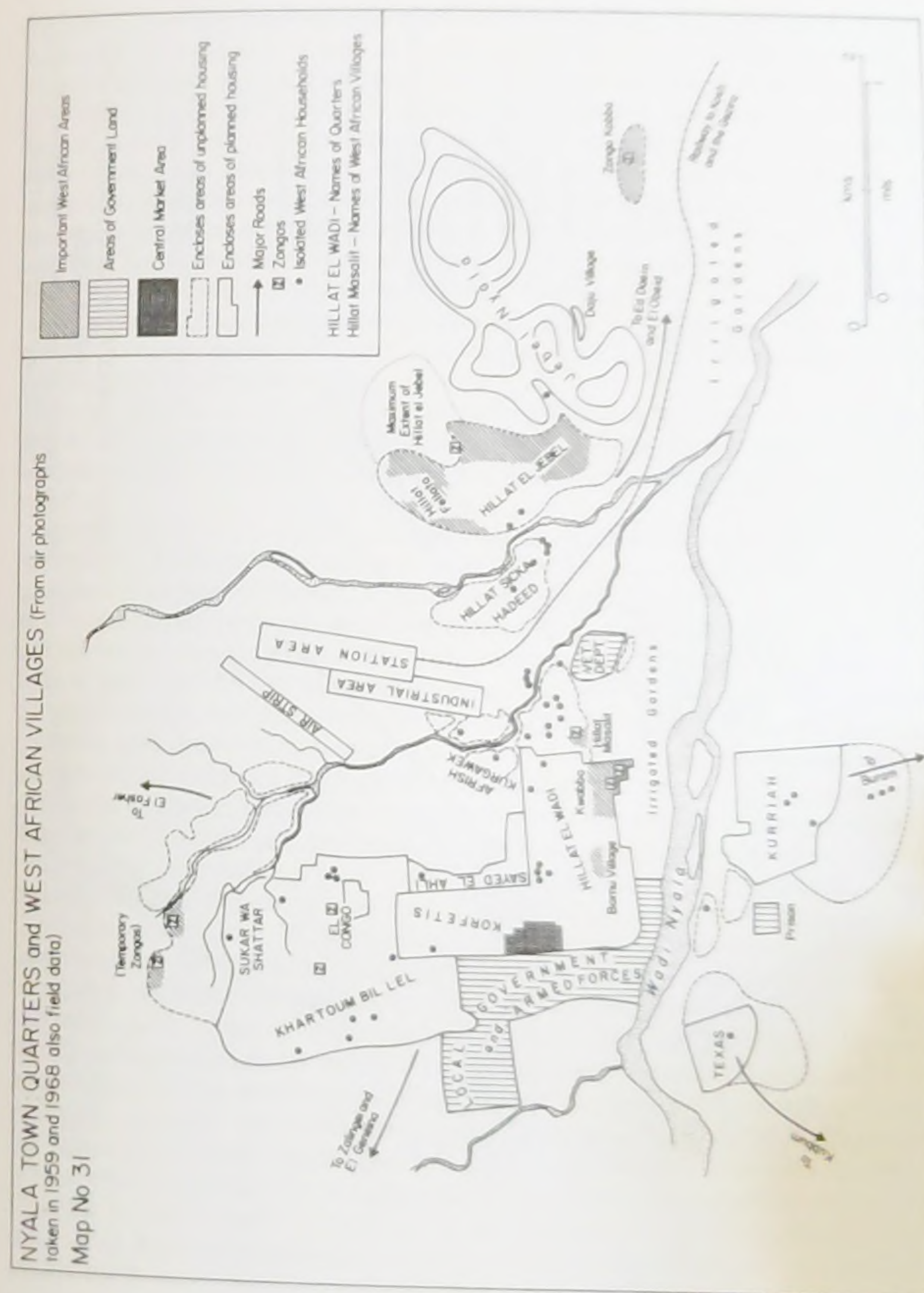
year, in 1947, followed by Jamma Abu Jura, where a group of pilgrim Fulani from Sokoto, returning westwards, stopped and farmed. Farming went so well that they decided to wait another year, then another, since when it has grown greatly. In 1952, a group of West Africans from Kwabbo moved out to Kundua to farm, such a large party being involved that from the very first year the village was inhabited continually. Some pilgrims, temporary residents of Nyala, went even further afield that same wet season, to Umm Kerduss, which has been farmed by West Africans ever since, though lack of water has stunted permanent West African settlement there. The following year another group established the first of Talata villages, and in 1954, an ambitious pilgrim founded Bileil, again to exploit a good farming area. The settlement was not in anticipation of the railway, and in fact it was the last not to be so prompted.

The post-railway expansion of West African settlement in Nyala Town The opening of the railhead in 1959 transformed Nyala from a sleepy market village into a boom town, making it more attractive to both West Africans and pilgrims. The most obvious expansion of West African settlement was Hillat el Jebel (Map 31), founded as a Kanuri village. This was partly because of the limits to the expansion of Kwabbo—which, however, increased in population—as the compounds were broken down into smaller units. As a result the *zongos* expanded and encroached upon the village. With this came the excessively insanitary conditions associated with pilgrims' resting places. Kwabbo became such a health risk that in 1965 the authorities moved some of the population outside the town, founding Zongo Kabba. The population density in Kwabbo remains higher than in most of Nyala, as shown by the larger numbers of houses per compound in the West African section than in nearby Hillat el Wade (4.5 and 3.3 respectively; see Map 32).

In Kwabbo, the actual *zongos* have been regularised by planning, and whilst externally they are walled around to give seclusion from passers by, inside they are as cramped, chaotic and impermanent as a rural *zongo*. Although large numbers of pilgrims stay short periods in Kwabbo, their impact upon the permanent residents must not be over-emphasised, for Nyala is large enough for them to be able to disassociate themselves from the West African community. Even some who live adjacent to the *zongos* are attempting to integrate into the Sudanese mass that is Nyala: even their homes are built in Sudanese style, so the visual boundary between West African and Sudanese in Hillat el Wadi has blurred.

Hillat el Jebel has not been replanned and remains in higgledy-piggledy form. Although established only just before the railway, the village had expanded by 1960 to the size shown on Map 31, but was not destined to remain large for long. The area was found to be infested by termites that destroyed houses within two years of their construction. This drove the population away, so the northern limit of settlement in the Jebel village is, in fact, a line of retreat, with the exception of the *zongo* shown on the map, which was established on this site only at the expense of building in clay. The *zongo* population of this village is

The *zongo* population of this village is not great and, compared to





Kwabbo, fewer residents are born in Nyala (Fig. X), for most West Africans in the Jebel village are only settled on a very temporary basis. This determines the character of the village: the houses tend to be poor, little effort being put into their repair; few shops are provided, as pilgrims and migrant West Africans have little money to spend on anything other than travel. The pilgrims in Hillat el Jebel are not desirous of Sudanese company, and yet, because of the rapid expansion of the early 1960s, they are not geographically separated from them. This leads to some frictions, not least because others living in Hillat el Jebel are considered by the West Africans to be idlers with excessive beer consumptions. In Hillat el Jebel integration of West Africans with Nyala is least pronounced, even though *zongos* are less important than in Kwabbo, and though the population is not segregated geographically.

Zongo Kabba has become a sanctuary for those West Africans driven out of Nyala proper by 'urban immorality'. These are at once the most puritanical and the most timid pilgrims, who wish to avoid the 'evils of the road'.

Immigration into Nyala brought about another aspect of West African settlement in Darfur: an unusual dispersion on account of a shortage of land and building materials. Even pilgrims recently arrived from the west had to move out of the secure, cosy *zongos* if they wanted a house in which to live for a longish period, so great were pressures on accommodation. This is endorsed by the fact that in Kwabbo there are no free *zongos*; the Zongo Tarifah has long been misnamed, for weekly charges exceed 25 piastres, and the *sarki* of Zongo Karama now limits the *karama* (stays free of charge) to only the most impecunious of pilgrims.

Zongo Karama is itself an example of the dispersion of West Africans throughout Nyala, for it is near El Congo market, demonstrating the desire to avoid the authorities by not mingling with large crowds of pilgrims. This has also caused the movement to outlying villages, discussed below.

Dispersion of the West Africans throughout Nyala town probably furthers their integration, since contact between them and other groups is increased. In some cases, the dispersion is a consequence of — rather than a contributory cause of — mutual acceptance with the Sudanese. Nevertheless, the geographic isolation of a West African household need not be a great limitation on their social intercourse with other West Africans; some in other quarters maintain links with Kwabbo almost to the complete exclusion of relations with their immediate neighbours. Notwithstanding, Nyala, the town with the youngest immigrant West African population in Darfur, is where their integration is proceeding most quickly, though the long term deliberate assimilation of the Fellata in El Fasher has progressed much further.

The post-railway expansion of West African settlement in Nyala rural area The expansion of West African population outside the town has been even more dramatic. By 1961 West Africans had founded four post-railway villages outside Nyala, three near Um Kerduss, and a fourth at Khartirgei, founded by a pilgrim walking to Kundua from Nyala who,

tired on the way, decided that he would found a village rather than walk on. Thus all four were in areas previously inhabited by West Africans.

After 1961 new villages spread over a much wider area, mostly to the south of Nyala, along the radial routes from the town, the farmers being dependent upon lorries to take their cash crops to market. Pilgrims are less important as village founders in these later years, but they form the majority of the populations. Settlers or residents in Nyala founded 16 of these post 1962 villages. Local West Africans select sites, negotiate with sheikhs, and a *sarki* to direct a pilgrim party to settle, and then elevate themselves to the rank of sheikh. The desire for this rank is a factor in the proliferation of small villages, but the security of the pilgrims must also be considered. 1962-5 was a period during which the Sudan-Chad border was closed, so pilgrims were scattered in the bush to reduce contact with the authorities. The direction of illegal pilgrim immigrants to small villages outside Nyala did not cease on the re-opening of the border because of the developing tradition of illegal entry.

The earliest village to be founded by this process, as opposed to the more spontaneous settlement, was the second of the Talata West African villages. A returning pilgrim gathered together a party of pilgrims from Hillat el Jebel, took them out to a site he had chosen, and became sheikh. Other small villages in the area and their dates of founding are shown on Map 30 and Figure XI.

Jamma Abu Jura and Kundua are on a different scale to these small rural *zongos*, having populations of about 1,200 and 700 respectively, not counting several small hamlets tributary to Kundua and two other villages adjacent to Jamma Abu Jura totalling about 500 people. The reason for their exceptional size, also dwarfing all villages inhabited by Darfurians, is the very good quality of their farmlands; Kundua and Jamma Abu Jura have become known as places in which enough money for the pilgrimage can be saved simply by farming groundnuts (see p.78) and pilgrims arrive at Nyala having come from Nigeria with the intention of staying in these villages. In Jamma Abu Jura, just before the 1971 rains, an average of ten huts per day were erected over a three-day period, and yet new arrivals were having to sleep in communal shelters, because there was insufficient housing. Each wet season, these villages become larger. 'Once pilgrims who have stayed in a village return to Nigeria, and report on it favourably, the village is ensured of a constant supply of new arrivals' (Graham, 1963; 245). These two villages bear this statement out to the full.

XII Conclusion

1. *The future of overland pilgrimage from West Africa*

Numbers making the *hajj* are rapidly increasing; between 1958 and 1973 they more than trebled to 645,182, excluding Saudi Arabian pilgrims. In spite of marked fluctuations caused by politics, economics and disease (for instance, the *hajj* in 1970 was small because many Muslims gave their savings to the June war effort), it is clearly increasing in importance (King, 1972).

This is reflected in greater numbers of pilgrims from West Africa. Although this increase has not been as great as from the Middle East and part of Asia (see Appendix I), between 1970 and 1973, departures from Nigeria increased by about 40 per cent (compared to an overall increase of 66% for this period); from Chad by 51 per cent to over 4,000; from Niger by 46 per cent to 3,978, and from West Africa as a whole by 37 per cent to over 65,000. It is likely that the relatively high priority given by the Tijani Tariqa to pilgrimage will mean that pilgrim numbers from this area will continue to increase.

It is perhaps unlikely, however, that greater numbers making the *hajj* from West Africa will be reflected in a proportional increase of those travelling along the savannas. The past two decades show there to be no relationships between overland movements and numbers travelling to Hijaz by air. Nevertheless, there are some factors likely to increase numbers passing overland.

General factors behind continuing overland pilgrimage include 'religious conviction and poverty' (King, 1972). The majority of West Africans travelling overland do so because, being poor, this is the only way they are able to reach Mecca. Related to poverty are opportunities to earn money *en route*, which mean pilgrims can depart overland having saved very little and yet reach Hijaz earlier than by staying at home to save for an air fare.

Furthermore, it is likely that increased air fares, even at charter rates, between West Africa and Hijaz, will make the lump sum payments necessary to fly more daunting to the poorer pilgrim. Even if the oil-rich Middle Eastern States were to subsidise costs of the *hajj* air fares would be likely to continue increasing.

Several other factors may also militate in favour of continued and increased overland pilgrimage. Many such movements are not solely for the purpose of performing the rites in Mecca, but combine visits to relatives in the Eastern Sudan. It would obviously be expensive, since the benefit of charter flight would be lost, to visit these relatives by air, either on pilgrimage, or separately.

As increasing numbers of Muslims acquire the title of '*al haji*' by utilizing air travel, it is likely that, in consequence of the resulting devaluation of pilgrimage, more will travel overland; such a journey

brings greater kudos in West Africa. Already there is an awareness of the incidental benefits of overland pilgrimage, including fluency in Arabic, first-hand knowledge of famous places and persons within Islam, together with a broader view of the Muslim world.

Perhaps most important is the consideration that more profound spiritual benefit may derive if hardships are endured *en route* — resulting in turn in greater esteem being accorded to the pilgrim on his return home. This would mean a reversion to many of the influences which governed the early period of pilgrimage from West Africa. Should they become more widely appreciated, overland movements may become less a tradition and more a fashion — with a consequent increase in numbers.

2. *The consequences of continued overland pilgrimage to the Sudan*

The Sudan Government is not in favour of continued pilgrimage across its territory from West Africa. The source countries also wish to discourage these movements because they see them (unrealistically, in view of the small numbers involved) as a drain of labour. Therefore, agreements have been made between countries along the route to prevent overland movement to Mecca, and the Sudan has attempted numerous unilateral practical measures to discourage immigration at the western border.

The attitude of the Sudan Government stems from the view that the movement of West Africans across the country is a territorial incursion. This is most easily understood in the light of the long history of disputes over the Sudan-Chad border, which remains a sensitive issue.

The Sudanese point to social disadvantages that the flow of pilgrims carries, and to the disruption of the societies receiving them. Whilst much of this is a consequence of Chadian migrant labourers and refugees (who do not have an institution as organized as the *zongo* system to accommodate them), the pilgrims are a cause of some of the problems associated with immigrants. Such undesirable consequences take a tangible form in the introduction and transmission of disease: pilgrims have been known to carry cholera, sleeping sickness and relapsing fever (see Maurice, 1932 and Abu Shamma 1960). Whilst cholera has been brought from Hijaz (as in 1964), most disease has come from the west with the uncontrolled entry of travellers. Nomads, some of whom are pilgrims, have brought cattle infested with rinderpest into the Sudan, and were responsible for the 1943 epidemic. In short, there can be no doubt that such an ineffectively controlled movement of peoples must present a threat to health (see also Prothero, 1965).

The Sudan Government also fears further build-up of people of West African origin within its borders. Now probably numbering over 1,000,000 (see p.62), with a certain internal coherence and political links with West Africa, they may pose a real threat to political stability. This fear is greater because of their associations with Mahdism, giving reason for a grudge against established Sudanese authority.

Many Sudanese are aware of what is considered to be the failure of the West Africans to integrate into Sudanese society. Some of the wide

variations of integration that exist have been discussed, and whilst there are extremes of deliberate assimilation (as in El Fasher, p.124), and of intentional isolation (see p.131), it is probably fair to say that West Africans are integrating only slowly into the Sudan as a whole. The temporary nature of many Sudanese West African communities and their continuing loyalty to their area and nation of origin militate strongly against assimilation. Not only do the pilgrims themselves not wish to mix with the Sudanese, but their influence tends to prevent settled West Africans from mingling either geographically or socially with the indigenous peoples. Prevention of pilgrim movements might therefore speed up the integration of West Africans in the Sudan.

Graham is right in asserting that another factor in the slow rate of their assimilation is simply their numbers. West Africans are a large enough group not to have to mix with the Sudanese, and can easily form self-sufficient communities (1963; 157). Within these communities, there is a great deal of mixing of the tribes from the west. Tribal loyalty is replaced by areal ties, unity being derived from the feeling of being exiled.

The growth of the West African community in the Sudan has been associated with tensions resulting in violence numerous times, as in Nyala (1929), Kassala (1945), and Southern Darfur (1966). It cannot be said that the West African population includes more than an average number of vagrants, vagabonds and undesirables, as many Sudanese assert, but it must be realised that the pilgrims are not a representative cross-section of West African society; they are part of what Lewis calls the 'fanatical fringe' of Muslim society (Lewis, 1966), and so may be less willing to accept and tolerate alien customs. This leads to frictions, especially as the Tijani West Africans see the Qadriyya *Sufi* (popular in the Sudan) as being very lax. Such feelings of religious bigotry may be strong: in 1971 West Africans in Tendelti, Kordofan, assaulted local people drinking alcohol within sight of a Tijani mosque. Even in Mecca, West Africans have resorted to violence in support of Tijani practices; in 1969 Hausa pilgrims had to be restrained from assaulting Pakistanis who perform slightly different rites. These pilgrims, of narrow rural origins, are almost bound to become inward-looking when exposed to an alien culture.

Furthermore, the continuing traditional animosity between the northern Sudanese Arab and the more negroid West African remains a major factor against real assimilation. In contrast to Darfur, where the West Africans' feeling of superiority deters assimilation with the Darfurians (who are relatively willing to accept West Africans, as at Garsilla, p.114), to the east of Kordofan it is the West Africans who find themselves in a position of inferiority, for there the Arab peoples hold them in disdain and refuse to mingle as equals.

Davies, therefore, was probably unduly optimistic when he wrote that, 'perhaps they (West Africans) could become the flux bringing together north and south and so help build the Sudan into a truly unified nation state' (1964; 234). Rather, West Africans are a further obstacle in the quest for unity. Although recent events indicate rapprochement between north and south in the Sudan, there does not seem to have been much

improvement in relations between West Africans, Darfurians and Arab Sudanese. Indeed, the West Africans, far from helping unity, may actually aggravate social distinction between Darfurians and other Sudanese; the eastern Sudanese think of West Africans and Darfurians as one group, just as Darfurians feel themselves to have more affinity with West Africans than peoples of the Nile Valley. As a result tensions between West Africans and Arabs in the east are seen by both Darfurians and Arabs as further cleavage between the peoples of Darfur Province and those of the eastern Sudan.

Although a significant problem socially, the West African is important in the economic framework of the Sudan. According to Davies, 'If the West Africans are as productive as the average Sudanese, then their presence is worth nearly £54,000,000 to their country of adoption. There is much evidence to show they are more productive than their Sudanese neighbours in some fields, and at the same time they are willing to undertake vital menial tasks which the northern Sudanese disdain' (1964:226).

More specifically, the West African contributes much to the running of the Gezira Scheme, amounting, for example, to 90 per cent of the labour force employed in ginning. (Davies, 1964: 229). McLoughlin points out that it is the unreliability of the indigenous labour supply which makes the West African's role of the utmost importance. Of the Westerner (i.e. West Africans, Darfurians and Chadians), he says, 'Though in numbers less than a quarter of the Gezira labour supply, he is responsible for half of the wage-worker output.' (1962: 370).

West Africans are also vital in the development of the Gedaref, both in the mechanised and traditional production of *dukn* and *dura* (see Davies, 1964, and McLoughlin, 1962). Barbour has also shown their importance in agricultural schemes such as the Khor al Atshan Development (1961). 'The West African's significance in the agricultural sector of the Sudan economy lies not only in the amount of cultivation and labouring work that he carries out, but also in his willingness to pioneer agricultural developments, of which undoubtedly his co-operation in the Gezira Scheme was of greatest significance, and the example he sets of hard work and careful husbandry.' (Davies, 1964: 231).

The West African is also important in the urban labour force throughout the northern Sudan. The employment pattern described holds true for many towns; as particular examples, gum production in El Obeid and cotton packing in Wad Medani would be seriously impeded without West African labour (see Davies, 1964, and Mather, 1953).

Thus, in terms of the economic development of the Sudan, the West African may be considered essential in the labour force, both urban rural. McLoughlin calculated Westerners comprise between 40 and 50 per cent of the wage labour force of the Sudan, though amounting to only 15 per cent of the population (1962: 379), and argues that this is an aspect of the heritage of slavery. The Muslim northern Sudanese regard labouring on the land as degrading, for they still associate it with the slaves by whom it was carried out in the past. Although slavery was banned by the British,

the attitudes of the old slave-owning classes have lingered on; they wish to become employers rather than work manually themselves. The Westerners* have become the employees — not a radically changed role, for they were an important source of slaves.

The West Africans' essential economic role, together with the fact that they are regarded as socially inferior by northern Sudanese Arabs, has led to a paradox within Sudanese policy, which McLoughlin calls an 'economics-versus-politics split personality' (1962: 382). Although it is accepted that the West Africans and Chadians are indispensable to the economy of the Sudan, they are considered to be politically undesirable, and so are discouraged from residence in — or even passage through — the Sudan. The result has been a series of efforts to lessen economic dependence upon the West African in particular (see, for example, Sudan Government, 1947), as can be illustrated by the decreased numbers of West Africans allowed tenancies in the Gezira, — from 12.6 per cent in 1946 to less than 4.6 per cent. This has not, however, brought about a proportionate lessening of their economic role in the Gezira. Frequently, dispossession of West African tenants, and substitution of a Sudanese, has meant simply a fall in status for the West Africans, who remain on the Gezira, perhaps even on the same tenancy, but as wage-labourers. Similarly, West Africans dispossessed of valuable seasonally flooded lands have continued to farm them as share-croppers.

Attempts to restrict rain-farming to registered Sudanese nationals have also met with only limited success. Less than 30 per cent (of a sample of fifty-two) of West Africans rain-cropping at Jamma Abu Jura in 1971 had registered in order to farm, and these had done so illegally through local sheikhs. Similarly ineffectual are schemes to license water-carriers, porters, and other urban labour in order to exclude West Africans from these pursuits: in Nyala, not more than 40% of water-carriers, of whom a majority is West African, had licences — a result of the shortage of labour because of the disinclination of the indigenous Sudanese to carry out these tasks.

These policies have been planned in conjunction with a programme of deportation of West Africans. The deportations, about which no official figures are issued, are probably ineffective in either reducing the eastward flow of West Africans, or in reducing the numbers resident in the Sudan. Numerous examples of pilgrims returning eastwards as many as three times after deportation were encountered and deportees who have been resident in the Sudan for several years also make their way back eastwards.

Under these conditions of reliance upon West African and Chadian labour, possibly the best policy for the Sudan to pursue is one which, accepting the need for this labour, maximises economic returns from migrants, whilst attempting to minimise the negative social factors associated with their presence in the Sudan. Attempts to stop the flow of

*It is fitting to use the term 'Westerner' here, because in contrast with the majority of the book, in which pilgrim, resident West African, and Darfuri are being distinguished from one another, the three groups are being referred to together, and contrasted with the Sudanese Arab of the north.

pilgrims involve large Government efforts and expenditure, with poor results. Whilst some control of pilgrim movements is necessary to enforce health controls, this could probably best be effected by positive inducements (such as free transport and work permits), rather than negative restrictive measures. The majority of pilgrims arrives in a concentrated stream at Adre. If they could be induced to stay together, rather than disperse, and to pass through a quarantine, then health controls could be enforced. The establishment of such a system would be unlikely to cause a large increase in pilgrim departures from Nigeria and West Africa, or to result in increasing numbers of West Africans in the Sudan.

Obviously, the prevailing illegal movements cannot be changed overnight, but the provision of free quarantine and transport facilities could help to regularise the movements of people across the Sudan-Chad border and direct them towards areas of most acute labour demand. Thus the Sudan Government ought to be able to reduce the undesirable aspects of the movement without major expenditure, whilst utilising with increased efficiency the important source of labour brought to the Nile Valley.

3. *The pilgrimage in the wider context of population studies*

There is a dearth of demographic data for many countries of the Third World, especially those in Africa. Censuses are infrequent, and often suffer from flaws in design and execution. The lack of information about population hinders studies, and limits practical planning decisions. Whilst the inadequacies of the basic indices of population growth are widely acknowledged, it is less frequently pointed out that even less data are available concerning migration, the remaining major factor influencing population change (but see Prothero, 1968).

Since so little information can be derived from census material, there is a need for specific studies of population movements, especially where it is thought that population mobility may be especially relevant to demographic or socio-economic trends and patterns.

The focus of this study — the movements of pilgrims — is but a small element of the totality of mobility within the savannas. The pilgrims were studied as a unique group, in an attempt to provide a multi-faceted appraisal of pilgrimage, through a geographical perspective which is thought to be particularly suitable. It was considered important to redress the imbalance that Prothero pointed out: 'More may be known about the effects of migration upon marital stability, and on other social problems than on how many people migrate, where they originate from, and to where they go, the routes by which they travel and the times at which they travel.' (1968).

From the study of the basic facts of the pilgrimage arose an understanding of the mechanisms of movement which have been little studied in any other context. The moving population's means of dealing with practical problems encountered *en route*, summed up here as the 'zongo system', comprises an element in mobility little examined by other social scientists. There is a need for study of the factors behind route patterns,

temporal aspects, and the degree to which other movements are institutionalised and directed by agents similar to *sarkin zongos*.

It is not even clear whether there are similar institutions to the *zongo* in other overland movements of pilgrims to Mecca. The pilgrimage of Yemenis up the south-west coast of Arabia is similar to the movement along the savannas. The Yemenis are poor, many travelling on foot, but the distance involved (some 500 miles) is considerably smaller. Accounts of this route do not stress the existence of any hospices in the manner that accounts of a trip along savanna road mention in the *zongos*. Although there are places in which Yemeni pilgrims can stay, relatively few do. The majority camps by the roadside, sleeping in the open. Nevertheless, groups are often organised by guides (different from those who show the pilgrims around the Holy Sites of Mecca), who may well fill many of the roles of the *sarkin zongo*. Little more is known about the detail of other overland movements to Mecca (but see Coles, 1975). No academic assessment has been published on the overland movements of Jordanians and Syrians to Mecca. These 50,000 pilgrims travelling by bus and lorry are worthy of study.

Aspects of the organisation of some other pilgrimages may resemble the *zongo* system. Mediaeval pilgrim movements to the Holy Land gave rise to the hospices to provide for pilgrims on their journey, in particular whilst crossing the Alps. The opening of the hostel on the Great St. Bernard Pass in the tenth century must have been the result of a very similar complex of motives to that behind the opening of a *zongo* in Darfur in the 1970s.

In literature on Indian pilgrimage, numerous references can be found to hostels for pilgrims. Bharati (1963) tells of lodgings at Rajgir (Bihar) for Burmese pilgrims, whilst Thirunaranan and Padmanabhan (1957) describe guest houses for pilgrims. Furthermore, Indian holy men act as guides and advisers to pilgrims, but resemble those who make a living in Hijaz showing pilgrims Holy Sites, rather than *sarkin zongos*.

Although pilgrimages in India often involve distances of over 2,000 miles, little has been written of the actual journeys. Even Sopher and Bhardwaj, who discuss patterns of pilgrim origins (1968 and 1974) do not discuss their travel. However, it is clear that means of accomplishing pilgrimage vary widely. The wealthy travel by air (Bhardwaj, 1974), the majority by road and rail, whilst a considerable number walk. One aspect of the pattern of travel to Indian shrines is a result of the proliferation of holy sites in India; pilgrims make the journey in stages not, however, determined by the need for money, but by shrines occurring *en route*. Travel between holy sites can usually be accomplished easily by train. There is thus not the need for resting places such as *zongos* between places of pilgrimage.

Professional agents are important in organising movements of people of other than religious motives in the Third World. In the Sudan, agents for the Gezira Board collect and organise labourers into lorry loads in Darfur and Kordofan and despatch them eastwards. Agents were recorded who shipped off over 25 per cent of village populations within a few days. Thus, their overall impact upon migrant labour movements may be great.

Movements of population that appear to be spontaneous and uncontrolled may, on closer examination, prove to be at least partly organised by agents. These, working either for profit or to gain social prestige, may be employed directly by the institution attracting the migrations, or independently. Further studies on such institutions may alter the 'laws' and factors generally considered to govern population mobility and migration.

Whilst pilgrimage has been central to this study, other aspects of population mobility in the savannas were distinguished. These include: rural-urban movements; urban-rural movements; rural-rural movements; urban-urban movements; long- and short-term migrant labour; seasonal migrant labour; movements for purposes of trade; movements of refugees. Some of these comprise an important element of pilgrimage (such as urban-rural movements in the Nyala area), and others must be clearly distinguished from pilgrim movements (such as those of refugees). The various types of mobility are listed here to further stress the importance of movement of people in the savannas. This is brought to a final reckoning by the frequent shifting of the settlements themselves — Garsilla and Mogororo are by no means atypical in being villages which have moved sites this century. It is not widely realised how basic an element of savannaland life mobility is. The pilgrims are therefore not so much unique in their mobility as in their unity of purpose and focus of movement.

Glossary and Note on Transliteration

NOTE

Arabic place names have been spelt in the most common and generally accepted manner, usually identical to the form used by the Sudan Survey Department, except where this differs markedly from local pronunciation, in which case local usage has been adopted. Arabic words have been minimised in the text, and those used transliterated as simply as possible. Diacritical marks have been avoided. Simple transliteration has led to some inconsistency between place names and other words. For instance, the definite article in *al hajj* differs from that used in place names such as El Geneina or El Fasher.

Plurals have been Anglicized for the sake of simplicity. For example *fariqs* has been used as the plural of *fariq*, rather than the grammatically correct *firqaan*, and *faqis* for *faqi*, rather than *fawaqi*.

Differences between the singular and plural of tribal names have been avoided, general usage having been made of the better known and more generally understood plural form. Thus 'Hausa' has been used throughout for singular as well as plural. Hausati (Hausa) and Hausawi (Arabic) are the grammatically correct singulars.

GLOSSARY

- daidai* (Hausa), *tawel* (Arabic): to have been a (long) time.
dar (Arabic, also Hausa), *belad* (Arabic): homeland.
digginnya (Arabic): poll tax.
duk (Arabic, also used in Hausa): bullrush millet.
faqi (Arabic, also Hausa), *marabout* (Arabic, restricted): holy man, often peripatetic, Qoranic teacher.
fariq (Arabic, used (little) in Fulfulde): temporary nomadic camp.
Fellata (pl.), *Fellati* (sing.) (Arabic): a rather derogatory term used by the Sudanese Arabs and peoples of Darfur to denote all people whose origins are to the west of the river Chari, but mainly associated with the Hausa, Fulani, and Bornu groups.
gidan gona (Hausa): isolated house on a farm.
haffir (Arabic): large excavated basin to trap rainwater.
hajj (Arabic, also Hausa): the pilgrimage.
al haji (Arabic); *alhaji* (Hausa); *al hajj* (Arabic usage): one who has made the pilgrimage.

- hilla* (Arabic), *kauye* (Hausa): village.
Id al Hajj (Arabic, also Hausa): the feast of the pilgrimage.
imam (Arabic, also Hausa): prayer leader, one in charge of a mosque.
jallaba (Arabic, also Hausa in Darfur and Chad): northern Sudanese Arab, usually from along the Niles; often a trader.
Jihad (Arabic, also Hausa): holy war, by Muslims against non-believers.
kamsanji (Arabic dialect); *sarkin motar tashar*, *yan kamusanya*, or *yan kamashe* (Hausa): agent in a lorry park who organises passengers and goods into lorry loads for a commission.
karama (Arabic, also Hausa): charity, one of several types within Islam.
kauye (Hausa), see *hilla* (Arabic).
khorr (Arabic, also Hausa in Darfur and Chad): seasonal waterhouse, usually small.
kwadigo (Hausa), *yomiyya* (Arabic): these are not quite equivalent in meaning, but are often used interchangeably in Darfur to mean wage-labouring. In fact, *kwadigo* implies payment by piecework, and *yomiyya* by daily rate of pay, regardless of the rate of working. Pilgrims and West Africans tend to prefer the former, being prepared to work hard; Arabs the latter, which provides income not related directly to effort.
mallam (Hausa): learned or respected man, often well-versed in the Qoran.
marabout (Arabic; restricted), see *faqi*.
muhajariya (Arabic, also Hausa, restricted): boy, given to *faqi* in order to learn the Qoran. In return for being taught the boy has to earn money for the *faqi*. Parents give up all claims on boys given as *muhajariya*.
mukhamas (Arabic): a unit of area used in eastern Chad, Darfur and Kordofan. Its area varies slightly from region to region. One method of calculating it is given in the footnote on page 000.
qoz (Arabic): sandy soil, well suited to rain-cropping groundnuts and *duk*.
sambuk (Arabic): a type of seagoing *dhow* or *boom*.
sarki (Hausa), *sheikh* (Arabic): chief, or person in authority.
sarkin motar tashar (Hausa), see *kamsanji*.
sarkin zongo: individual in charge of a *zongo*.
sheikh (Arabic), see *sarki* (Hausa).
tarifah (Arabic): half-Piastre.
tariqa (Arabic, also Hausa): Islamic ~~societ~~ mystical order.
tawel (Arabic), see *daidai* (Hausa).

Torobe, or *Torodbe* (Arabic, Hausa, also Fulfulde): originally, the Muslim Fulani who initiated the West African *Jihads* and established the theocracies. Now generally used, at least in Darfur and Chad, to mean Islamic Fulani.

yomiyya (Arabic), see *kwadigo* (Hausa).

zongo (Hausa): in West Africa, a resting place for travellers, but in Chad and the Sudan, a place intended for the use of pilgrims.

zawiyya (Arabic): small mosque associated with minority sects of Islam. Usually run by an *imam* opposed to the doctrine of the major mosque of a settlement.

zariba (Hausa): village or quarter.

Appendixes I

Table 1
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND NUMBERS OF PILGRIMS
VISITING MECCA 1970 AND 1973

	1970	1973
<i>Arab Countries</i>		
Yemen	50,269	60,250
Syria	42,339	31,777
Iraq	19,842	24,681
Sudan	14,865	29,506
Libya	11,835	23,774
Egypt	11,490	39,606
Jordan	10,909	25,819
Morocco	10,640	22,425
Kuwait	8,072	8,094
Lebanon	6,712	6,715
Tunisia	4,207	10,126
Algeria	3,936	25,864
Bahrain	2,418	2,265
Oman	1,569	3,518
Qatar	1,392	1,346
Palestine	838	1,556
Other	1,052	1,397
<i>Totals:</i>	209,483	320,793
<i>African Countries</i>		
Nigeria	35,187	48,981
Ethiopia	2,955	2,843
Guinea	2,630	1,810
Senegal	2,422	2,719
Chad	2,034	4,002
South Africa	1,951	2,959
Niger	1,827	3,978
Mali	1,123	1,569
Uganda	940	856
Cameroun	808	1,751
Mauritania	724	867
Others	3,637	9,603*
<i>Totals:</i>	56,914	81,845

Table 1 continued

	1970	1973
<i>Asian Countries</i>		
Iran	48,367	45,298
Pakistan	38,256	95,968
India	16,470	18,306
Indonesia	14,633	17,447
Afghanistan	13,663	17,447
Turkey	13,269	17,235
Malaysia	10,361	10,395
Thailand	4,981	2,057
Others	1,045	866
Totals:	161,045	240,235
Europe	3,703	2,063
Rest of the World	125	246
Grand Total:	431,270	645,182
Totals including Saudi Arabians	N.A.	1,216,951

Source: Saudi Arabian Statistical Yearbooks

*Including Somalia 2,032, Tanzania 1,312 and Upper Volta 1,117.

Table 2
TOTAL NUMBERS OF PILGRIMS VISITING MECCA
1946-1973

1946	55,244	1960	277,238
1947	75,614	1961	216,442
1948	99,069	1962	197,133
1949	107,981	1963	260,285
1950	100,471	1964	283,319
1951	147,450	1965	294,118
1952	149,450	1966	316,226
1953	162,361	1967	318,147
1954	232,271	1968	374,784
1955	220,513	1969	406,295
1956	216,166	1970	431,270
1957	206,379	1971	675,547 (1,079,760)
1958	204,367	1972	688,547 (1,042,027)
1959	262,318	1973	645,182 (1,216,951)
		1974	607,550

Note

See also King (1972). Figures in parenthesis, 1971-3, include the members of Saudi Arabian nationals making the *hajj*. 1971 was the first year in which this was made available.

Source: Saudi Arabian Statistical Yearbooks

II

NUMBERS OF WEST AFRICAN PILGRIMS ENTERING AND
LEAVING THE SUDAN : 1909-1971

Year	El Geneina		Leaving the Sudan at Suakin	
	Entering Sudan	Leaving Sudan	Total Pilgrims	West African Pilgrims
1909	↑ Figures not available	↑	5,983	↑ Figures not available
1910			5,765	
1911			3,061	
1912			4,196	
1913			4,565	
1917			3,772	
1918			3,681	
1919			3,810	
1920			4,653	
1921			5,684	
1922			4,616	
1923			4,922	
1924			3,621	
1929	↓ Figures not available	↓ Figures not available	3,866	2,338
1930			4,791	3,525
1931			2,414	1,558
1932			1,348	780
1933			970	509
1934			1,532	891
1935			1,576	1,164
1936			3,404	2,550
1937			6,346	4,787
1938			8,159	6,046
1939			5,523	4,217
1940			3,824	3,734
1941			2,085	1,818
1942			8,467	7,048
1943			7,670	5,336
1944			6,818	5,269
1945			6,999	5,480
1946			8,404	6,886
1947			12,044	9,881
1948			11,105	↑ Figures not available
1949			5,071	
1950				
1951				
1952				↓

Year	El Geneina		Leaving the Sudan at Suakin	
	Entering Sudan	Leaving Sudan	Total Pilgrims	West African Pilgrims
1953/4	12,880		↑ Figures not available ↓	↑ Figures not available ↓
1954/5	14,880			
1955/6	7,600			
1956/7	8,850			
1957/8	8,941	6,526		
1958/9	7,778	5,363		
1959/60	7,012	6,460		
1960/1	7,454			
1961/2)	No pilgrims			
1962/3)	enter legally			
1963/4	1,429			
1964/5)	No pilgrims	No pilgrims	↑ Figures not available ↓	↑ Figures not available ↓
1965/6)	enter legally	leave legally		
1966/7)				
1967/8	55	3,440		
1968/9	239	1,963		
1969/70	122	3,066		
	No pilgrims			
	enter legally			
1970/1		4,906		

Sources: Darfur Province Diaries and Reports; Kassala Province Diaries and Reports; Mather, 1953; Willis, 1926; El Geneina Quarantine Police Post; Port Sudan and Suakin Quarantine and Border-post Records.

III

WEST AFRICAN VILLAGES IN DARFUR PROVINCE: THEIR POPULATIONS AND DATES OF FOUNDING

(See Maps 17 and 18)

Number on Map MAP 17	Name	Date of Founding	Population
1	El Geneina, Hillat Hausa	c. 1921	1,430
2	El Geneina, Durti	(Pre-Turkish)	580
3	El Geneina, Hillat Bornu	1922/3	230
4	Fura Buranga	1957	65
5	Kanem, near Fura Buranga	1966	105
6	Bindisi	c. 1925	90
7	Bindisi, Hillat Tombolbaye	1970	135
8	Garsilla	1906	320
9	Deleig	1968	20
10	Zalingei, El Zongo	1923	406
11	Zalingei, Hillat Sokoto	c. 1938	65
12	Zalingei, Hillat Bornu	1932	200
13	Zalingei, Hillat Meiram	1935	60
14	Kas, El Zongo	1919	1,160
15	Kas, Hillat Bornu	1930	135
16	Kas, Hillat Bornu el Gedid	c. 1943	65
17	Manse	(Pre-Turkish)	670
18	Mogororo	1914	520
19	Hillat Bornu el Folk	1948	160
20	Hillat Fellata el Folk	1970	140
21	Murcundi, Hillat Hausa	1957	115
22	Murcundi, Hillat Fellata	c. 1953	385
23	Rahed el Birdi, Mahal el Gillit	1961	220
24	Rahed el Birdi, Hillat Hausa	1952	60
25	Tuwal	1929/30	450
26	Id el Ghanam, Hillat Hausa	1952	60
27	Rajaj, Hillat Hausa	1920	30
28	Tullus, Hillat Hause	1936	465
29	Tullus Fellata	1932	3,075
30	Boronga	1962	355
31	Hillat Bornu (several hamlets)		
32	Hillat Bornu (a second group of hamlets)	1920/8	670
33	Gidad	(Pre-Turkish)	20
34	Girada, Hillat Hausa	1948	380
35	Hillat Bornu	1942	170
36	Hillat Bornu	1943	235
37	Burum, Hillat Hausa	1924	1,275
38	Redom	1931	265
39	Songo	1880	240?
40	Kafia Kingi	Turkiyya and 1970	100?
41	Adan el Humar	1968	30

*Number on Map
MAP 17*

	Name	Date of Founding	Population
42	Abu Matariq	1917	195
43	Abu Gabra	1916	175
44	Ed Daein	1936	1,450
45	Taweisha (mainly Fellata)	Pre-Turkish and 1925	c. 525
46	Kataal	Pre-Turkish	580
47	Umm Kedada	1949	175
48	El Fasher, Fellata	Pre-Turkish	c. 3,350
49	El Fasher, Tombasi	Pre-Turkish and c. 1900	1,600
50	Tawila	1952	350
51	Manawashei	Pre-Turkish	400
52	Kebkabiya	1921	150
53	Fatr Bornu	Pre-Turkish	210
54	Kutum	1951	135

MAP 18

55	Nyala, Kwabbo	1946	810
56	Nyala, Korfetis	1923	210
57	Nyala, Hillat Bornu	c. 1933	450
58	Nyala, Hillat Fellata	1951	520
59	Nyala, Zongo Jebel	1959	640
60	Nyala, Zongo Kabba	1965	270
	Nyala, estimate of dispersed West African population		c. 930
61	Shadida	1971	85
62	Eringa, Hillat Fellata	c. 1943	230
63	Talata, Zongo No. 1	1953	495
64	Talata, Zongo No. 2	1963	165
65	Talata, Zongo No. 3	1966	45
66	Buldonga, Hillat Fellata	1941	360
67	Ardeiba, Hillat Hausa	1967	105
68	Ardeiba, Hillat Fellata	1954	230
69	Umm Kerduss Zongo	1959	45
70	Umm Kerduss Zongo el Gedim	1952	80
71	Beleil, Hillat Hausa	1956	135
72	Gidan Gona Zongo	1970	70
73	Kelma	1945, 1965	93
74	Kunduah	1952	695
75	Khartirghi	1960	105
76	Zongo Hausa	1965	215
77	Hillat Um Borroro	1953	220
78	Sakali Zongo el Kabir	1967	405
79	Sakali Zongo el Sugair	1969	150
80	Tebeldia Musa	1963	180
81	Kashalongo Zongo No. 1	1967	160
82	Kashalongo Zongo No. 2	1968	95
83	Kashalongo Zongo No. 3	1970	35

*Number on Map
MAP 18*

	Name	Date of Founding	Population
84	Tito	1968	270
85	Doubleful Hillat Hausa	1969	220
86	Doleiba Zongo	1965	70
87	Donkey Dereisa Hillat Hausa	1966	300
88	Tartura Zongo	1968	115
89	Abu Ajela	1969	85
90	Jamma abu Jura	1951	240
91	Jamma abu Jura	1967	1,220
92	Jamma abu Jura	1968	280

IV

PERCENTAGE AND NUMBERS OF WEST AFRICANS IN DARFURIAN TOWNS, 1956 AND 1971

	Total Urban Population 1956	Total Urban Population 1971	Total Urban West African Population 1956	Total Urban West African Population 1971	West Africans as a Percentage of Total Urban Population 1956	West Africans as a Percentage of Total Urban Population 1971	Percentage of Total Urban West African Population in Darfur Province 1956	Percentage of Total Urban West African Population in Darfur Province 1971
El Geneina	11,817	22,000	1,872	2,240	15.9	10.2	24.9	19.6
El Fasher	26,161	33,000	3,313	4,060	12.7	12.3	43.8	35.4
Nyala	12,278	45,000	2,368	3,750	19.3	8.4	31.3	32.9
Ed Daein	—	14,000	—	1,450	—	10.4	—	12.1
			7,553	11,530			100.0	100.0

From 1956 Population Census and Field Data.

There is no comparative data for Ed Daein because it was too small to be enumerated in 1956.

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